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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE sessions of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention were held, this year, on Thursday of anniversary week, May 27th, at Horticultural Hall. Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, took the chair, and said:

FRIENDS:—It is not a part of my responsibility or prerogative to be making speeches on this occasion, but rather to introduce *other* speakers. It devolves on me to occupy this chair chiefly by virtue of my official relation, as President of the "Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," for although Massachusetts is not by any means the biggest of the New England States represented in this "Convention," it is, as we may say, the *primary* in these matters of anti-slavery and other reforms.

But how gladly would we see cause to dissolve our organizations, and to hold no more conventions! There is not an Abolitionist here but would shout for joy could he see occasion by the passage of the "Fifteenth Amendment" or any other governmental edict setting the seal for "equal rights," to have done with anti-slavery meetings and instrumentalities. You cannot doubt this and our sincerity in so affirming, when I assure you that *for* this we would willingly forego all these pleasant gatherings, these expressions and interchanges of a social sympathy and affinity unsurpassed by any other association, and that for this we would even foreclose the lips of eloquence itself and be reconciled to the silence of WENDELL PHILLIPS.

When, a few years ago, in that great national crisis originating the "Emancipation Proclamation," the question came up to us, shall we now cease all further concern for Anti-Slavery interests; and when our friend GARRISON, (God bless him) took issue with our other friend PHILLIPS (God bless him) on the question whether there really *was* any more work for us to do, in my opinion we were wiser to continue our Society on the ground that the animus of the South toward the blacks was still tyrannous and oppressive, and the whole condition of the colored people there no better than that of serfs. Look, now, at Georgia, Cuba, Florida, and other countries both within and without our own State lines, and see if there be not, there, still rampant, a pro-slavery spirit and action against which we must still contend.

We rest not then, so long as there may be within our borders the smallest remnant of caste prejudice or oppression. We rest not, I am almost tempted to say so long as the smallest black bird or yellow bird is shut up in the wire cage of social or conventional constraint, but feel as lovers of freedom that we must work to give those birds a wider range for their wings, and freer air for their liberty songs. At all events we feel, (at least I do) that we have some instrumentalities still claiming our earnest sympathy and support, whether we consider their usefulness and efficiency in this special sphere of social reform or in the wide field of ethical and philosophical suggestiveness. Take the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, for instance, I claim for it that it not only is and ever has been the ablest advocate and defender of the black man's interests and rights, but it is, also, apart from these considerations, one of the broadest and most generous and philosophic journals on the field of social science and civil interests. Certainly no *newspaper* with which I am acquainted has anything like its height and breadth of philanthropy, its largeness of purpose, or the clearness of its benevolent aims. The contributions, it contains every week from the pen of Wendell Phillips alone ought to ensure it support. But I am occupying time which belongs to others, and I now pronounce the Convention open.

The usual Committees were then appointed as follows:

Committee on Business.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
AARON M. POWELL,
ABBY KELLY FOSTER,
CHAS. K. WHIPPLE,
R. P. HALLOWELL.

Committee on Nominations.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER,
WM. WELLS BROWN,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT,

Committee on Finance.

SALLIE HOLLEY,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
N. B. SPOONER,
LILLIE B. CHACE.

The President then introduced to the meeting AARON M. POWELL, of New York, Editor of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Mr. POWELL sketched those circumstances in the condition of the country which made it needful that the old guard of Anti-Slavery should still be on the alert in order to keep public sentiment alive to the dangers which yet threaten the freedmen in various parts of the South, and to maintain a continued agitation until the ballot and equality before the law was secured to the colored men in Connecticut, Pennsylvania and other States.

There is still, he said, constant danger to the persons and lives of loyalists among the States lately in rebellion. President Grant does not yet put forth his power to suppress the murders which are frequently occurring there, nor to maintain the rights of loyal men, white and black, at the South. The special duty of the hour is to urge the President to use the whole power of the Federal Government to accomplish these ends. The XLIst Congress has earned our gratitude by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment; but it has not yet enforced upon Southern rebels the understanding that they *must* submit to the new policy of equal rights for all under freedom.

Mr. SIMMS is to-day left helpless in Georgia by the very party whose success he did so much to secure. We must demand, on the re assembling of Congress, that the expelled Georgia members be returned to their seats. A large number of both parties in the Middle and Western States, Republicans as well as Democrats, are yet averse to the enactment of this justice, and show themselves bitter enemies to the colored race. The caste spirit yet exists everywhere, even in Boston, as his friend Mr. Remond could testify. Democrats were still strong in churches, in parlors, in business, in society. An outspoken testimony in advocacy of the black man's rights as a man was still needed as much as ever.

At the close of Mr. POWELL'S remarks, Mr. SARGENT, the President, spoke of the importance of continuing to sustain the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, by which the country is reminded every week of its duties towards the colored race. He then introduced to the Convention Rev. OSCAR CLUTE, of Vineland, N. J., who spoke of the continued power of prejudice against the negro, the immense importance of the ballot to him, not only as a right, but as an educational force, and of the imperfect idea generally prevailing of the true function of government.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in behalf of the Business Committee, then came forward and offered the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That we hail with heartfelt satisfaction, the vast progress the nation has made toward justice and impartial liberty within the last year.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard the Fifteenth Amendment as putting the capstone to the negro's political emancipation, and as the guaranty for him of justice and fair treatment and equal rights in all time to come; and we urge on Abolitionists untiring effort to secure its prompt ratification.

3. *Resolved*, That in the negro pew of the church and the illegal exclusion of the negro from full privilege in in our hotels and places of public resort and amusement, we recognize that fell spirit of race hatred which made slavery possible, and which it will require the earnest effort of Christian and patriotic men for years to exorcise.

4. *Resolved*, That we trust the news from the White House is true, and that we may really expect an earnest effort on the part of the Government to put a stop to anarchy and bloodshed at the South.

5. *Resolved*, That in our judgment martial law should be at once declared in any county or town where a political murder takes place, and all persons directly or indirectly connected with or related to the assassins should be at once imprisoned until the offender is secured; failing which a regiment should be quartered on the district, at its expense, to keep the peace in time to come, and the estates be subjected to a fine of one tenth of their value—the said fine to be collected by the Government and paid over to the family of the murdered man.

6. *Resolved*, That all persons aiding, sheltering or sympathizing with these Southern assassins should be promptly tried by court-martial, and shot, imprisoned or fined, according to the measure of their offence.

7. *Resolved*, That it is the first duty of the Government to secure peace and safety of life and property at the South in order that schools, capital and men may be attracted there to complete the reconstruction of those States.

Mr. PHILLIPS went on to say that immense labor is still needed to overcome the pride of race still cherished among the leading class at the South. Some in that class now understand the situation, and are willing to adapt themselves to it. But the majority neither understand nor consent. He described Southern society as consisting of three elements—the educated and accomplished gentlemen who owned the slaves; the ignorant, untravelled poor whites, full of prejudice and animosity, the result of war; and the negroes. The latter were the safeguard of the nation, necessarily loyal, both from gratitude for freedom granted them, and from the threatening danger which surrounded them from the enmity of the whites. To the National Government only could they look for protection.

The long training and admirable organization of the leading class in the South had created a state of popular feeling which can be counteracted only by slow degrees. Its force was illustrated in the case of that eminent and able colored man, Lieut.-Gov. Dunn of Louisiana. He was repectfully received and introduced on the floor of the United States Senate. The Board of Brokers in New York gave him a reception; and he was made welcome at the Metropolitan Hotel in New York. Yet a Railroad conductor in New Orleans refused to admit him to a first-class car, and when the President of the road, Gen. Beauregard, was appealed to, with a perfectly sublime impertinence he confirmed the refusal.

This is a representative fact. Beauregard, better than most Southern men, ought to know that the South has been defeated. He does *not* yet know it; and the mobocracy in those Southern States have been so thoroughly trained, that even the well disposed among their masters cannot now restrain them.

Our hope, our sole hope is, that in the South are 4,000,000 people who can't help being loyal; who may always be thoroughly relied upon.

England is quiet under provocation from many quarters because she can't fire a gun. She can't venture to break the peace, on account of Ireland. So with us. On account of the South, *we* can't be aggressive. We are bound to keep the peace for five or ten years. Our most serious point of consideration now is, how to banish the doctrine of race from this country. The danger of to-day is that hostile elements are still in operation, and that freedom will still be insecure until the Fifteenth Amendment is ratified. When the surplus of China comes to this country, *as it will*, the same trouble will be repeated.

We must have in the Constitution a barrier against this pride of race. There will be no safety for us until this is done. Even Rhode Island, a New England State, is not secure for ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, though the passage of this measure would enable her to sell $10 of her manufactures where she now sells only $5.

As to New England, we must urge Congress to the very verge of its Constitutional power to secure ratification. Conventions must be held, documents circulated, all the instrumentalities of agitation kept in full play to urge public sentiment in the right direction. The idea which carried us through the war *must* hold sway for the next ten years if we would keep the fruits of that victory. As citizens as well as abolitionists, all our influence should urge a *prompt* ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Of all the utterances of Grant, the best was his request, Ratify the Amendment before I come in, and let me have this thing *settled*. This was the common sense of a practical intellect, sharpened by the events of war. Sherman said, early in the war, "This is a white man's government, and to be kept so." But Sherman adds—"But if, in the opinion of the government, it shall become necessary to arm the negro, give him also the ballot." In this manner, too, the country has thought and acted; not justly or generously, but yielding to military necessity. But if Grant and Sherman say so much, cannot we follow, and urge this counsel upon the nation until the ratification is accomplished?

Give money; send out agents; hold conventions; give Congress and the Legislatures no peace until this point is gained. This summer is given us to work in. We must coerce Rhode Island, and convert Ohio, and carry twenty-four States up to Congress. What we do this summer will settle the question. If we get twenty-four States to ratify, Congress will shut out the rebel States. This is the final death-grapple. By success here we shall awe the churches into Christianity, and make the hotels decent.

After all, it will be a whole generation, thirty years, before a colored man can live comfortably in this country. Only the height of Christian patriotism keeps the colored man here who is able to live elsewhere. Our nation is not rich enough to do full justice to that race. All we can expect is to gain their full liberty. All that the nation gives the negro is the right to vote; and then it says to him—Root, hog, or die! Since this is the attitude of the nation, we, the abolitionists, must work incessantly to arouse the people and the legislatures to the duty of pushing this question until Congress meets.

Mr. WILSON says that Congress will keep out the rebel States, and he probably thinks so. But the Senate changed very suddenly on the question of impeachment. We cannot feel sure until the thing is accomplished. We must use every effort. We need two or three States to spare beyond the exact number required. When McClellan built a bridge which needed to bear 100,000 pounds, he always made it capable of bearing 200,000, so as to have something to spare in strength. We must adopt the same policy, and not expect unwonted fidelity of the Republican party, nor assume that every member of the United States Senate is a saint.

Mr. PHILLIPS was glad that Senator Wilson had avowed the determination to resist, at all hazards, the admission of the four States yet out of the Union, unless they first adopted the amendment. He thought Congress should cut up Texas into four States (as originally proposed under the slave-holding regime), for the purpose of securing beyond peradventure the ratification. In conclusion he appealed to the Abolitionists to continue to give their means, their sympathies and their bodily presence in the conventions, which he thought it would be necessary to hold from time to time for many years to come. Therefore, said he, give us the means to work, and your active coöperation. The most economical use you can make of your money is to help forward this cause.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, though in feeble health, added her word of exhortation. She reminded the Convention that Henry Wilson, last fall, urged the Abolitionists to do *more*, that this work of ratification might be completed. As Napoleon said—Nothing is done while anything remains undone. When shall be the jubilee, to close up our work of forty years, with all races standing, equal before the law? Until this is actually accomplished, we must put forth every effort.

The President then announced a song from the Hutchinsons, which was received with hearty applause by the audience; as was also the statement by Mr. John Hutchinson, that they had been singing these songs of freedom for thirty years.

MARY GREW of Philadelphia said that in this city, thirty-five years ago, she began her anti-slavery life and anti-slavery work; and the memories of that time aroused in her soul the exclamation—What hath God wrought! She had seen prejudice breaking forth in furious persecution. She had seen a great public hall consuming in flames merely because it had been dedicated to the cause of freedom. Most of her anti-slavey life had been passed on the border land of slavery, in Philadelphia. She recalled those early scenes with intense interest. The last case of attempted kidnapping she had known had been that of a man called Daniel Webster, seized in Pennsylvania. The ablest lawyers were retained in the interest of slavery. But Lucretia Mott sat by the kidnapped man, and gave him what sympathy and help she could. By some blessed influence, the decision was given for freedom, and the voices that went up from that place seemed to belong to a prayer-meeting rather than a court-room.

Then, for the first time, we found ourselves protected by the government; and from that day to this, free speech has been protected in Philadelphia. The slave power there was then broken.

The speaker rejoiced and thanked God that her mature life had been spent in this cause. She believed the final victory to be at hand, but not until it came should our vigilance be relaxed. We must stand by the black man till his cause has triumphed. All the moral strength and skill we have gained must be applied to this cause till it shall succeed, and then be transferred to the next.

The last speaker of the morning was Mrs. ELLA D. ROCKWOOD, who spoke of the need the colored people still have of our sympathy and help, and of the wisdom of seeing the nail clinched after driving it. We don't yet see this class of men in the jury-box or in our church-pews; and even after the Fifteenth Amendment shall be enacted, there will be some to oppose its enforcement. Mrs. ROCKWOOD, closed by speaking of the value of the example of the Abolitionists to those engaged in other reforms, and the Convention adjourned to 3 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in the chair.

Having called the meeting to order, Mr. PHILLIPS, on the part of the Business Committee, read another resolution, as follows:—

Whereas, Land for a homestead is the natural, inherent and inalienable right of every human being, and whereas the great mass of the recently emancipated slaves are utterly homeless and by law dependent on the will of their late masters for shelter and bread, therefore

Resolved, That we demand of Congress the immediate enactment of laws that will break up the landed monopolies of the South, and place a homestead within the reach of the humblest of this race.

This resolution was received with much applause, and was advocated by the next speaker, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, who spoke of the various disqualifications under which the colored people yet labor, and of the need of continued vigilance and activity in maintaining their rights.

The President then introduced Mrs. MARY A. LIVERMORE of Chicago, editor of *The Agitator*, an ably conducted woman's suffrage paper, and one whose speech, in the women's meeting two days before, had been one of the best features of that meeting.

Mrs. LIVERMORE said she had not heretofore been connected with the Anti-Slavery organization, though she had given some help to the underground railroad.

Why, said she, do we prolong agitation on this subject? Because the Fifteenth Amendment is not yet ratified, and until it is, the position of the colored people is not secure. There is also another reason. Through the gap in the fence made by the Fifteenth Amendment, suffrage for women will have a better chance to enter. There was a difference of opinion as to which of these movements should have precedence. She felt like having the Fifteenth Amendment passed first, and then it could not be but justice would be done to the women also.

Mrs. LIVERMORE had heard from our soldiers, escaped from Andersonville, of what invaluable aid the colored people everywhere had given them. She had known even of cases where colored women had died through their exertions to save and help the Federal soldiers. Every consideration of gratitude and justice now called upon us to stand by them in their time of need. She had seen some dreadful things on the old slave plantations. She had also been South and seen the changed condition of things since the war; and she could testify that more was to be hoped and expected of the black race than of the white there.

Mrs. MARY F. DAVIS, the wife of ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, was the next speaker. She expressed warmly the satisfaction she felt in again hearing the voice of ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, who had first aroused her many years ago, to an active sense of the wrongs of the slave. She wished to add her exhortation that we continue unweariedly in advocacy of the negro's rights, until the Coustitution secures them for the future. She would have the ballot at once granted to the freedmen, even if that right must still longer be withheld from women.

Mr. GILES B. STEBBINS then made a few remarks urging that lands be secured to the landless and homeless people of the South.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER followed in advocacy of the same idea. He said—We have invested vast labor and expense in the Anti-Slavery work. Shall we let all this be lost from want of insisting on its completion? We must produce that state of things which will enable the negro to *use* the ballot for his protection. The ballot without land is worthless to him. He will be crushed by the hostile landholders unless he can stand on his own soil while he votes for the government of his choice.

The men who have spent their lives under such peculiar circumstances in the cultivation of that Southern soil have a right to the possession of it. If you take it from them, and put it into the hands of their oppressors, you share in the crime of the Southern slaveholder. God has legislated in this matter, and we are to carry out his laws. Without land to stand on, of what use are feet or hands to the negro, or to us. Mr. Foster demanded that a homestead be granted to every Southern negro. As to any danger supposed to impend, through this measure, over the possessors of landed property, he was willing that his own farm, near Worcester, should take the risk of it.

By invitation of WENDELL PHILLIPS, Hon. HENRY WILSON then made an address. He was received with great applause. He began by saying that as he had listened to Mr. Foster's remarks, his mind had reverted to a convention of young men in the State of New Hampshire in the year 1837, when they were both younger, more enthusiastic, and he trusted not so wise. He didn't exactly agree with Mr. Foster in regard to the terrible condition of the emancipated negroes in the South. There were 46,000,000 acres of public lands in the South, and two or three years ago Congress passed an act giving to every person who wanted them eighty acres, and giving the black six months to take his choice before any white man could come in. A great many negroes had availed themselves of this chance and many thousand acres have been converted into farms. Besides these public lands at the South, the whole public domain of the United States lay open to the black men as it did to the white, and they could take what they wanted. Land was also very cheap at the South, and a thrifty black man could easily acquire land enough to till. He related instances of colored men who had hired plantations of old whites, among others, Jeff. Davis, and were making money fast out of them. Instead of feeling gloomy in regard to the condition of the freedmen, he, looking back to former times, felt very hopeful and trusted that everything would be well. Since the November election the outrages at the South had in a great measure ceased. Public sentiment had changed there, and the people were beginning to see that they must submit to circumstances. He saw Gen. Grant a short time ago, and told him the rebels were murdering our men in the South for their fidelity to the country, and it must be arrested at once by the strong arm of this Government. He believed Gen. Grant and his administration were pledged to maintain, with the whole power of the Government, the liberties of every man in the rebel States, to enable him to think his own thoughts, to utter his own words, and do what he pleases, provided he didn't interfere with the rights of any other man. He suggested to Gen. Grant that the people would demand that our people should be protected there; and if it could not be done in any other way, martial law should be proclaimed, and these murderers tried by military commissions. He had received a letter saying that Gen. Terry, our General at Georgia, was investigating affairs in that State with a view to action, and that the Government would use its influence and power to protect the lives and property of our people. While he would hold the administration up to this, he hoped the whole people of the country, who love liberty and the good name and fame of the land will demand it of the administration and stand by and sustain it. There had been a wonderful change in some parts of the South, and on the whole there has been a great improvement. Andrew Johnson was not only the protector of rebels and had something of their spirit, but he was the protector of crime of every name and degree. Now, we have an administration on the side of public order, which means to be on the side of the people and means to meet everything in the right manner. The administration might have committed some mistakes, but it is planted on the side of right, is looking in the right direction, and if the people support it all will be well. We shall surely pass the Fifteenth Amendment, and secure to the negro his full rights. And then we should have to consider woman suffrage.

HENRY C. WRIGHT remarked upon the absolute right of all men, black and white, to a permanent place on the soil where they were born, and—

Mrs. F. E. W. HARPER rehearsed the just claims of the colored people upon this nation. She thought the prejudice existing against her people was the result of slavery. Slavery shows a certain degree of weakness in the victim race, but there was hope now that political power was to be added to the brain-power and muscle-power of that people. She related instances of the industry and thrift of the freedmen in Virginia, and found that a better chance in all the relations of life than formerly was given them there. She asked only that prejudice might no longer obstruct the path of the colored people.

The Convention then adjourned until evening.

EVENING SESSION.

Mr. SARGENT, the President, having called the meeting to order, introduced a colored woman from Richmond, Virginia, Mrs. REBECCA CRUMPLER.

Mrs. CRUMPLER simply and naturally expressed the gratitude of her race for the efforts made by others in their behalf, and bore testimony to the gradual improvement of the colored people of Richmond, among whom she had been a teacher. They are less intemperate than formerly, and are leaving off some of the ill habits they learned from their masters. She claimed for them a higher degree of intelligence and morality than they are generally credited with. She expressed strong hopes of the future of the colored race, but said that it would take earnest labor on the part of their friends to secure them all their rights.

Mrs. TAPPAN (formerly Mrs. CORA L. V. DANIELS), spoke of the erroneous assumption commonly made, that the need of anti-slavery agitation has ceased, and proceeded to mention many proofs, North and South, that the spirit of slavery still lives. The prejudice against race will not be wiped out by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. While life at the South is insecure, and while, in many places, even labor is refused to the freedmen, agitation must not cease; nor would it if we realized that, in the States lately in rebellion, the question to loyalists, black or white, is of nothing less than safety and life.

Though everything would not be accomplished by the Fifteenth Amendment, it was the point next in order to be carried. Even in Washington and Philadelphia colored people were ostracised and were unable to obtain the same privileges as whites. She wanted a strict enforcement of State laws at the South, so that the whites down there should be forced to give the negroes a chance. The North should pour out its money and buy useful articles for the negroes at the South, for they were poverty-stricken and needed the necessaries of life. They also needed tools, farming implements, etc. Shovels, at present, would do them more good than tracts and Bibles. Also, a law giving them land at the South was of paramount importance. It was of no use preaching or even teaching until the negroes had means of improving themselves in pecuniary matters, for they could not study while they were starving. The colored people must have not only the concession of their rights but the means of enforcing those rights. What the South needs is a code which shall mean the same in Massachusetts and Louisiana; which shall protect the colored man the same as the white man everywhere. The South is still in a state of anarchy. Various experiments for relief have been made, but some of these have tended to continue the separation between the races.

When slavery was abolished, the Choctaws, Cherokees and Creeks not only released their slaves, but divided their lands with them. The speaker wished that our own people would show a like measure of justice and humanity.

Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM of New York was the next speaker. He said—

Now that black men and women speak so well for themselves, there is less need of our speech in their behalf. Nevertheless, there is much work to be done before the prejudices that have weighed upon the negro can be dissipated, and his rights be practically in his possession. We have abolished slavery. This was only breaking a chain; lifting the foot from a neck. But this could not root out that spirit of pride and haughtiness which has been cherished in our community. As long as the black man was considered unworthy of any right or privilege because he was black, so long we should have work to do. We must now operate upon the *causes* of these evils; a work of unspeakable delicacy and subtlety.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM heartily paid his tribute of honor to the men who began this work, and called on all to join in the completion of it. Now, for the first time, the black man stands face to face with the white man, on the same level. But giving him the field does not secure him the victory. How many years has he been degraded and brutified! And how many circumstances are still opposed to his elevation. Emancipation has not yet made it easy for white men and women to mingle with black men and women as with those of their own race. A new public opinion must be created. The white man has land, and knowledge, and consciousness of power, and the habit of exercising power, and political skill and tact. The Southern white outwits even the Northern white. How hard will it be for the negro to withstand him! Even after the Fifteenth Amendment is passed, how little will have been gained!

Mr. FROTHINGHAM paid a high compliment to the heartiness with which the colored people had entered upon their new opportunities. What the negro had already accomplished for himself seemed a miracle, and did him infinite credit. It seemed as if white people, under the same circumstances, would not have done so well. He had no words to express his admiration for the indomitable energy and perseverance of this race. They have done magnificently in industry, in education, in politics. The fact that they have asked for the ballot, that they are willing to take their chance against the astute Southern whites, showed admirable qualities, powers that fill us with respect and admiration.

Still, the negro fights against prodigious odds, and needs all the help that we can give him. How goes the battle? It must, in the long run, go well. But immense present disadvantages weigh upon a race so long kept in ignorance, and our ease, indolence, prejudice are keeping us from the energetic action needed.

The black must not be a tiller of the ground merely, but a merchant, a trader, a mechanic. He must have a free chance in the labor market. This will raise him in the scale of intellect, and civilization more speedily than anything else. This training must be given him, whence comes the strength to fight the battle of life. The ballot is only his *opportunity* to fight.

The ballot is good; but he must have land also. Land is everything. Give him a piece of land, and you can no longer push him off. Give him a part in this immense power of *property*. All civilizing powers come to help the man that stands on his own field. Let him cultivate his own farm and build his own house, and then he will have a share in our civilization. We must do our utmost to help him to this. Every cause needs a perpetual freshening up in remembrance. Our work has a new beginning to-day. After emancipating the slave, we must lift up the man.

AARON M. POWELL said—One of the fruits of our late struggle is the growth of republican opinion abroad. Now that slavery is abolished here, we find slavery everywhere relaxing its fatal hold. Mr. POWELL wished to give a word of hearty greeting and recognition to the patriots of Cuba, and therefore offered a resolution on that subject, which, after the change of a word at the suggestion of Mrs. Foster, read as follows:—

9. *Resolved*, That we hail with great satisfaction the proclamation of the abolition of slavery by the Republican patriots of Cuba; and that we urge the Government and the people of this country to give all possible sympathy, and all proper encouragement, to these brave and earnest champions in their heroic struggle now in progress on Cuban soil, for independence and impartial freedom.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, being called for by many voices, then came forward. He desired to present his thanks to Messrs Phillips, Powell and Frothingham, who had, he thought, covered the whole ground in question. He said that he felt great pain at the defections which had taken place in the radical ranks, because in many of the backsliders he had placed great trust. In regard to the nomination of a negro as Minister to Hayti he expressed much disgust—because the government of Hayti had no sympathy with the free governments of the day. He thought that if a colored man were to be sent out of the country as minister at all he should be sent to Germany or England, and not to Hayti. He complained of the prejudice against color, even in Massachusetts, and said that he himself, though a native of the State, had felt it all through his life. Give black men an opportunity to succeed by the removal of social prejudices, and they would, as he believed, do themselves credit.

The closing address of the evening was made by WENDELL PHILLIPS. He said—

When the pioneers started the Anti-Slavery cause, we were really green enough to believe that but few years were necessary to accomplish the work. A short time of trial showed us that the American people did not believe what they said in Fourth of July orations. Then we dug deeper, and applied to the church; and the church excused herself from doing her duty on that plea that we were infidels. Then, having proved by experiment that the church was unchristian, we tried politics and went into disunion. Failing in that, we undertook to convert the masters; and there again we failed. The gun sounding at Sumter changed all this. The madness of the slaveholders hastened the accomplishment of our work; and now we have the freedmen, feeble, landless and friendless, to plead for before the country.

In this emergency the Anti-Slavery people showed their customary adaptation to circumstances. They saw that the negro had been dwarfed, crippled, wilted down by the crushing influences of slavery. They saw that he needed the interposition and help of friends, just as Caspar Hauser did on being released from his dungeon. To men in such a state, destitute of land or other property, and surrounded with hostile influences, it was neither Christian nor patriotic to say "Root, hog, or die!" To give such people equal advantages with others, we must give them *better* advantages.

Slavery has hurt the poor whites of the South even more than the slaves, dwarfing their intellect as well as their moral nature. The prejudices of this class are even more inveterate than those of the better educated slaveholders. The philosophical historian of seventy years hence, will, in analyzing the causes to which the American Union owed its preservation, be compelled to say that the chief of them was the accidental presence of four million of blacks encamped permanently in the States of the enemy.

Mr. PHILLIPS said he did not believe in the conversion of an adult generation. The Georgian can't understand that there is room in heaven for a Yankee. We never shall get over the prejudices of the adult South. It is unusable timber for American purposes.

We can't convert the Southerners; we can't wait till they are dead; we must outweigh them. We want land, and education, and the ballot, for every negro. Hold up Caspar Hauser till he can walk. This is not special protection, but commonsense interference for our own benefit. The Anti-Slavery Society is a society for the protection of the White House and the stars and stripes.

There is a sense in which we are near our triumph. But many a ship has gone down in sight of port. The Fifteenth Amendment is not yet ratified. When that measure shall be completed, the negro will begin to be melted up with the white man, and the contention about race will begin to decline.

Mr. PHILLIPS here told an amusing story of his address, recently, in Faneuil Hall, before a body of working-men, some of whom had often joined in mobbing him. He began by saying—"I bring you the negro." There was a fearful silence. The expression took away their breath, so that they couldn't even hiss. Before they had recovered that power he began to talk. He gained their attention, and proved to them by degrees that the interests of laboring men relatively to employers were precisely the same, whether the laborers were black or white. It took fifteen minutes to bring them to this point; but then they understood and accepted it, applauded the speaker, and fairly swallowed the negro. The same process must be gone through with the American people.

Here in the city, many years ago, there was a colored school in Southac street. It was the character of this school that brought out the masterly argument of Charles Sumner against such distinctions between black children and white. There was a brutal master, who, besides abusing the pupils in other ways, took a notion to whip them in Turkish fashion, on the soles of their feet. Complaints were made, but there was no remedy, because there was no element of respectability in the parents of those children which the city felt itself bound to respect. Some Abolitionists took up the matter, and persistent agitation, through a course of years, swept away not only the abuses of that school but the whole system of the separate instruction of colored scholars.

The end of the Anti-Slavery cause will come when a black man is as good as a white one.

A vote was then taken on the series of resolutions, which were adopted, and the Convention adjourned.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
Secretary.

COLLECTIONS AND PLEDGES AT THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, BOSTON, MAY 26TH, 1869.

COLLECTIONS.

Bourne Spooner,	$20.00
Photius Fiske,	30.00
B. H. Hutt,	20.00
Andrew Jackson Davis,	50.00
Mrs. Theodore Parker,	15.00
Mrs. Asa Fairbanks,	5.00
Ann and Wendell Phillips,	200.00
J. L. Whiting,	2.00
A Friend,	1.00
J. P. Mendum,	50
Friends,	5.00
Mary C. Sawyer,	3.00
Mrs. Battles,	25
Mr. Bartlett,	25
A Friend,	50
Mrs. Heywood,	25
Mrs. H. M. Jacobs,	1.00

Sophia P. O. Allen,	1.00
Miss Sarah Ford,	50
James Hutchinson, Jr.,	1.00
Sarah R. Hathaway,	1.00
Elizabeth Mendon,	2.00
Mrs. Baldwin,	50
J. Howe,	1.00
Cash,	1.00
Miss M. A. G. Otis,	5.00
Mrs. Mercy P. Osborne,	1.00
Benjamin Breed,	1.00
Edwin Thomson,	2.00
E. P. Perkins,	1.00
M. O. Barrett,	50
A. Gilbert,	50
Giles B. Stebbins,	1.00
Mrs. Ellen S. Coffin,	1.50
Frank Goodwin,	1.00
S. D. Holmes,	1.00
T. P. Locke,	1.00
Mrs. Abby S. Stephenson,	1.00
Mrs. L. R. Putnam,	1.00
P. Shaw,	10.00
Seth Hunt,	2.00
Sarah J. Nowell,	1.00
Stephen Clapp,	1.00
L. J. Piper,	1.00
Frank Hinkley,	1.00
T. Cushing,	1.00
Mrs. Paulina Gerry,	1.00
Maria S. Page,	5.00
R. H. Ober,	2.00
Lima H. Ober,	1.00
F. M. B.,	1.00
M. J. Bingham,	1.00
Lewis McLaughlin,	1.00
R. H. McLaughlin,	1.00
Sarah H. Cowing,	4.00
Humanity,	1.00
S. G. Gilmore,	50
S. H. Cowing,	2.00
D. B. Morey,	1.00
A Friend,	40
Various persons,	15.00
Sallie Holley,	1.00
Miss Caroline Perry,	1.00
A Friend,	4.00
Mrs. George Wilson,	50
Mrs. Frances Drake,	50
A. Folsom,	1.00
A. B. Otis,	1.00
H. W. Carter,	1.00
D. C. Haskell,	2.00
L. S. Richards,	1.00
An old friend,	1.00
Ann P. Poole,	25
Susan Wheeler,	25
William Lovell,	1.00
John Sawyer,	1.00
Helen M. Ireson,	1.00
C. A. Cooper,	1.00
Mary Willey,	1.00
D. S. P.,	1.00
Mrs. Newmarth,	1.00
Other Friends,	10.00
N. White,	5.00
Mrs. Russell Marston,	2.00
L. S. Putnam,	1.00
Mr. Marshall,	75
C. W. Slack,	2.00
Mrs. Richards,	50
Mrs. Frances Drake,	50
Mrs. Gove,	50
Mr. McPhail,	1.00
Richmond Johnson,	50
Mr. Buffum,	70
Other persons,	20.55
C. A. Joy,	2.00
Joseph Newell,	1.00
C. H. Morrill,	1.00
Miss Richards,	1.00
F. A. Green,	5.00
A. P. Putnam,	1.00
Susan Sisson,	1.00
Lois Sisson,	1.00
H. H. Brigham,	1.00
A friend,	50
Amos J. Ballou,	1.00
S. H. Cowing,	1.00
Louisa Hobart,	1.00
E. B. Chace,	1.00
A. R. Powell,	1.00
L. M. Alcott,	1.00
A. M. Powell,	1.00
Mrs. M. E. Sargent,	1.00
Mrs. Geo. R. Russell,	5.00
Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam,	2.00
Mrs. Armenia S. White,	3.00
Loring Hayden,	1.00
G. W. Greene,	1.00
Mrs. Mary F. Davis,	2.00
Others,	9.15
PLEDGES.	
Mrs. George R. Russell,	$500.00
R. P. Hallowell,	100.00
D. and C. A. Joy,	25.00
Mrs. E. A. Eaton,	3.00

A TRAGEDY IN JONES COUNTY.

From the Wilmington (N. C.) Post.

THE New Berne *Times* gives the following account of the fearful tragedy in Jones County:

As Sheriff O. R. Colgrove of Jones County was on his way from his home, a little out of town, to Trenton, Saturday morning about 8 1-2 o'clock, he was shot and killed by a band of men, whose names we are as yet unable to ascertain. At the time the deed was done he was at or near the path which leads to Bragg's house.

A colored man who accompanied him was also shot through his arm and side. He is sadly hurt, but with the best care may possibly recover. Mr. Colgrove's horse was also shot, about twelve buck shot entering his head. Shortly after this affair occurred, his brother, Senator D. D. Colgrove, dispatched a messenger to this city with the above facts, requesting that a hearse and coffin be immediately sent for his body.

Later intelligence states;—Amos Jones, a very worthy colored man in Jones County, was riding on horseback directly behind Sheriff Colgrove at the time he was assassinated on Saturday morning last, and the same persons that murdered the Sheriff, fired several shots at him, three of them taking effect. Medical attendance was immediately obtained, but the wounded man becoming weak from the loss of blood lived but a few hours. Before dying his deposition was taken, under oath, (a copy of which we have in our possession), which was to the effect that he heard eight or nine shots fired from a thicket of bushes, and saw the Sheriff fall from his carriage, and that immediately three men rushed out and fired more shots at the Sheriff and himself. He swore positively to the identity of one of the persons, having personally known him for two years. This deposition is accompanied by a physician's certificate, to the effect that he was perfectly rational and competent to give his testimony. He fully described the circumstances connected with the sad and fatal deed, a few minutes after which he died.

Since the murder there come many wild rumors from Jones County; but how many it is safe to credit our readers must judge for themselves. There is probably no doubt that the house of Mr. Bragg, where H. M. Haswell resided, has been burned, also those of Calvin Koonce and Shade Loftin. Mr. John F. Wooten fired at the incendiaries and drove them away. The fire was extinguished.

M. Haswell was brought to New Berne [illegible]ng, by a detachment of Jones County militia. He is charged with the murder of Colgrove. A colored man who was found in company with Mr. Haswell is in jail. There is also a rumor, with what foundation in fact we do not learn, that Mr. Bragg, the man recently arrested, charged with horse stealing, has been killed.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

SPEECH OF PROF. GEORGE W. GREENE.

Delivered in the House of Representatives at Newport, May 28, 1869.

MR. SPEAKER:—When the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was under consideration, I had the honor to be a member of this House. In the remarks which I made on that occasion, I particularly called attention to the light in which the principle of amendment was viewed by the leading members of the Constitutional Convention. Using their own words, I showed that it was upon this principle of the Constitution that they founded their hope of its durability; that they never for a moment permitted their love for the work of their own hands to blind them to its imperfections; and that having interwoven the law of progressive adaptation with the whole texture of the instrument, they left the rest to time and experience.

And this, sir, is my starting point in the examination of the amendment now under discussion. It gives us the firm ground of history to stand upon, the clear light of principle to walk by. It reduces the whole discussion to two direct and simple questions.

1. Is this amendment necessary?

2. Is it in harmony with the fundamental principles of the instrument on which we are asked to engraft it?

If both these questions are answered in the affirmative, the path of our duty becomes clear; for it is not, you will remember, sir, a question of expediency, but a question of principle.

And first—Is this amendment necessary?

When the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, three millions of slaves had recently been made free men by the immortal proclamation of President Lincoln. Their situation was anomalous. Their capacity for freedom was doubted. Many looked upon them with distrust. Their best friends were not without serious apprehensions. Some of their former masters were confident that they would quickly fall back into servitude. The whole legislation of the South was against them. All the habits and traditions of Southern life were against them. How were they to be stimulated to persistent industry? How were they to be formed to habits of thrift and forethought? How were the products of their labor to be secured to them? How were honest ambition and healthy aspiration, those prolific sources of individual and national progress, to be awakened among them, and directed to their true ends?

It was chiefly these doubts, these anxious apprehensions of friends, these confident ill-augurings of enemies, that led to the formation of the Fourteenth Amendment The principal aim of this amendment was to make sure the personal freedom which the proclamation had given. It was believed that by establishing the freedmen firmly in their citizenship, they would be confirmed in the possession of all that their industry could win for them.

This was a natural hope, sir, but it was a delusive hope. I never shared in the delusion. I put my doubt upon record, and publicly avowed it as my only objection to the amendment that it did not go far enough; that it stopped short of that positive security to which the freedman was entitled; that it failed to give that firm assurance of political equality which the law of progress and the peace of society demanded.

Subsequent events have abundantly confirmed these apprehensions. The four years of Andrew Johnson's disastrous administration are filled with the records of the crimes and sufferings which the false position to which we had condemned the freedman produced. I will not repeat the sickening details. I will not ask you to recall to mind the malignant influences, by which the fruits of a four years' war were all but lost. Happily for us that fundamental principle which, at stated times, brings those who exercise power to the tribunal of those who bestow it, had not lost its salutary control. Never was national sentiment more emphatically expressed. Never was a condemnation more solemnly pronounced. Never, in our history did an old administration pass away with such abhorrence, or was a new, ushered in with such hopes.

Our first attempt to equalize citizenship had failed. Nominally citizens, the freedmen were in a measure still serfs. They had the name of freemen without possessing the essential guarantees of freedom. For we must ever bear it in mind, sir, that it is not equality before the law, which is the test of freedom, but a participation, either direct or indirect, either by representation or by personal action, in the making of the law. The subjects of the Sultan are all equal before the law, and they are all equally the slaves of his will.

And thus, Sir, the failure of the Fourteenth Amendment to give security to society, by giving security to the new members of that society, brings us logically to the Fifteenth Amendment. The first recognized a right; the second provides the means of enforcing it. The Fifteenth Amendment is the off-spring of uncontrollable circumstances. We cannot escape the question on which it rests. In some shape or other we must meet it. Sooner or later, if we would win peace for ourselves and transmit a sure peace to our children, we must solve it.

The first characteristic of true manhood is self-respect. Whatever inclines man to doubt his capacity for good, detracts from his power of doing good. Whatever has a tendency to lead a man to look upon himself as inferior to his neighbor, tends also to paralyze those exertions, which rightly directed, would make him the equal of his neighbor. The contest of equal with equal is ennobled by generous emulation. The contest of superior with inferior is imbittered by contempt on one side and hatred on the other. Whichever conquers, a human being is degraded.

The Fourteenth Amendment left it in the power of the State Legislature to withhold the right of suffrage from the freedman upon the ground of race. He was recognized as a citizen, but as a citizen of an inferior grade. He was told that he was henceforth free to work when, where and for whom he chose, but he had no voice given him in the choice of the men who were to make and enforce the laws by which the fruits of his labor were to be secured to him. Equality of natural capacity is not within the control of man; it is the gift of his Maker. But equality of acquired capacity is the fruit of circumstances, and lies within the domain of human endeavor. And, therefore, all distinctions founded upon the assumed inferiority of a race are invidious distinctions. Human consciousness condemns them; human experience condemns them. History tells us that they ever have been; philosophy tells us that they ever must be, sources of enmity, strife and bloodshed. Thus the power of making that invidious distinction between the colored man and the white man was a power for evil—a power of perpetuating dissensions, and rekindling the fires that lie smouldering and half extinguished under the deceitful ashes. Remove that distinction, and you do all that legislation can do towards equalizing the rights of citizenship. Legislation cannot make men industrious. It cannot make them thrifty. It cannot elevate their moral nature or invigorate their intellectual nature. But it can give them the assurance of that political equality which is the distinguishing characteristic of freemen, and by showing them that none of the rights of citizenship are withheld, teach them that none of the duties of citizenship should be neglected. And, therefore, sir, I believe that this amendment will correct a great evil, avert a great danger. By accepting it we do our part. It will then be time enough to call upon our new fellow citizens to do theirs.

I have said that we shall have done our part, and I repeat it, sir, because I would give greater force to the only objection which I have to this amendment. I would put on record my doubt as to the completeness of our work. To the inviolability of the right to vote I would have added the inviolability of the right to become the object of a vote. If the power of amending a proposition of Congress had lain with us I would have inserted the words *or to hold office* immediately after the words *to vote* of the first line of the amendment. But it does not, and I will not trespass upon your time by untimely objections. Even as it now reads, this amendment meets a great want, corrects a great evil, secures a lasting good.

I come, therefore, to the second question—Is it in harmony with the fundamental principles of our government

In a dark and menacing hour of our national development, the term *glittering generalities* was applied to the Declaration of Independence. That hour is passed, and those glittering generalities are acknowledged as fundamental principles of the government of the United States. The assertion that all men are born free and equal, a glaring contradiction with three millions of slaves in the land, becomes a sublime truth by the acceptance of every man born on our free soil, as free. The development and application of that truth becomes the chief problem of our legislation. To secure to every citizen his incontrovertable rights, to protect these equals from the collisions of passion and the evil suggestions of self-interest misunderstood, becomes the sacred duty of American statesmen. So long as an unnatural distinction between citizens was perpetrated by legislative enactments; so long as the power to exclude a whole race from the most important function of freemen, was legalized, our legislation was in contradiction with our principles. How can we hope for peace and prosperity while that contradiction remains? You have accepted the principles of natural freedom. Whither does it logically lead you but to political freedom? You have declared that birth on the soil of the United States carries with it the obligations of citizenship. How can you withhold the right to vote—the most sacred of those obligations?

I say obligation, sir, and I say it advisedly. I believe that the citizen's vote is less a right than an obligation, less a privilege than a duty. If society were merely an aggregation of men, we might look upon the conditions which govern it as questions of expediency—as matters to be decided by their more or less convenience, their more or less correspondence with the demands of the hour. History is full of the record of such aggregations. She tells us how chancefully they began, how miserably they ended. But true society, sir, is an association of men formed in accordance with an acknowledged principle, and directed to the accomplishment of a common purpose. Whatever is done by the association must be done in accordance with that principle, must bear directly upon that purpose. And thus every one's part assumes the form of an obligation, becomes invested with the sacred character of duty. To vote at an election is to point out the man to whom you are willing to entrust the power of making the laws by which you and he are to be governed. It is the expression of your faith in individual character: the contribution of the results of your experience and meditation to that common stock of experience and meditation which constitutes political wisdom. How can we, by recognizing a distinction of race, deprive a citizen of the power of performing a primal duty of citizenship?

And here, sir, let me meet one objection, an objection which never could have been made if the objector had followed the obvious law of interpretation, and used words in their natural and obvious meaning. It has been objected, sir, that the acceptance of this amendment would open the door so wide to another class of citizens as to make a fundamental revolution in the politics of this State. This argument, sir, if argument it can be called, is not of that class which wise and conscientious statesmanship admits. It is an argument of politicians, not of statesmen; adapted to the tainted atmosphere of a primary meeting, not to the pure air of a legislative assembly. It is our duty to do right, and He, who, even from evil educes good, will give efficacy to our right doing.

But, sir, the objection is founded upon a gross error of interpretation. It confounds a purely local distinction of birthplace with an hereditary distinction of blood. Whichever etymology we accept for the word *race*—whether the Latin derivation of *radix, a root* or the more probable old German derivation of *reiza*, a line, it still means a body of people originally descended from the same ancestor, and distinguished by a common blood manifesting itself in common characteristics. We speak of the Caucasian race to which we ourselves belong; of the Ethiopian race, to which the negro belongs; of the American race, to which our own aborigines belong. The local chance of birth has no connection with the linear chance of birth. A Caucasian is still a Caucasian, whether born amid the wild glens of the frosty Caucasus, or on the pleasant banks of the Shannon. An Ethiopian is still an Ethiopian on whichever side of the Atlantic he may first have drawn his breath.

Now, sir, the second section of the second article of our State Constitution says nothing about *race;* the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States says nothing about *local nativity*. In both, the language is clear, precise and definite, as the language of a great instrument ought always to be. By what subtlety of logic can you force the two expressions into an impossible identity, and make *race*, which means a distinction of blood, imply native born, which means a distinction of locality? Looseness of interpretation may give point to a witticism, but is a bad foundation for the reasoning of Statesmen.

And now, sir, I have said all that I propose to say. I have endeavored to show that this amendment is necessary, and that it is a logical deduction from the principles of the Constitution. Of its adoption by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution, there can be no doubt. Let us no longer delay to record the name of Rhode Island on the side of progress and right.

PREMIUMS.

PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We have completed arrangements which enable us to offer, as an additional premium for new subscribers, a life-like, handsomely finished, medium sized photograph of JOHN G. WHITTIER. It is of the same size, and in the same finished style, as that of Mr. Phillips, and by the same artist, Mr. Augustus Marshall, 145 Tremont street, Boston. As a photographer, Mr. Marshall is equalled by few, and surpassed by none in Boston, or elsewhere. Each photograph will be accompanied by Mr. Whittier's autograph. We doubt not that many of our readers, by whom everything from Mr. Whittier's pen is fondly treasured, will be glad to avail themselves of this favorable opportunity to obtain a recent and truthful likeness of him. It is the best we have ever seen of him, and will, we have no doubt, give excellent satisfaction to his numerous friends.

To any one who will remit to us for two new subscribers, one year, ($6), or to any old subscriber, remitting also for one new subscriber ($6), we will send post paid a copy of the excellent photograph of Mr. Whittier.

To any one remitting for three new subscribers, ($9), or renewing, and remitting for two new subscribers ($9), we will send one copy of the photograph of John G. Whittier, and one of Wendell Phillips.

SPECIAL PREMIUM.—PHOTOGRAPH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE have arranged to offer as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD a life-like, beautifully finished, medium-sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS, made for us by a distinguished Boston artist. We have had many calls for photographs of Mr. Phillips, suitable for framing, which we have hitherto been unable to supply. We have at last a likeness of him which we pronounce eminently satisfactory, and which we think will prove to be so to his many friends by whom it will be desired. Each photograph will have also Mr. Phillips' autograph. To all our subscribers who renew their own subscriptions and remit for one new subscriber ($6); or to any one who sends us the names of two new subscribers for one year ($6), we will forward, post paid, a copy of Mr. Phillips' photograph, the retail price of which is $2.50.

WE will send post-paid, to any one renewing a subscription for THE STANDARD and sending one new subscriber ($6); or remitting for two new subscribers ($6), copy of ANNA E. DICKINSON'S new book, 301 pages, just issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, entitled "WHAT ANSWER?" As with her voice, so with her pen, Miss Dickinson pleads eloquently the cause of the still oppressed colored people. The story is one of thrilling interest, characterized by a noble purpose and high moral tone. It deserves, and will doubtless achieve, a wide circulation. Our premium offer puts it within easy reach of thousands.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1869.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

ALL Hail and Farewell to the Pacific Railroad. The telegraph tells us that the Indians have begun to tear up the rails, to shoot passengers and conductors on this road. We see great good in this. At last the poor victim has found the vulnerable spot in his tyrant. "Thank God America has resisted," cried Lord Chatham. Our feeling is the same. For seventy years and more the Indian has begged this great Nation to attend to his wrongs. His cries have been unheard. Ruthless and unheeding we have trampled him down. To-day the worm turns and stings us.

Last year Indians destroyed locomotives and shot conductors. Timid Durant forbade the telegraph wires to report the fact. He trembled for his road. To-day fifteen thousand warriors on the war path,—a thousand miles of exposed road; this railway the pet plaything of the American people! Would our words could reach every Indian chief. We would tell him, lay down your gun, but allow no rail to lie between Omaha and the mountains. "The accursed code" is O'Connell's best weapon, said Sheil. The Pacific Railway is the Indians Alabama. Every blow struck on those rails is heard round the globe. Haunt that road with such dangers that none will dare use it.

Some men may think us needlessly aggressive. No, citizenship, they may say, would be a better remedy. Yes, by-and-by. At present citizenship means little. Heaven forbid we should betray the Indian to such protection as "Citizenship" gives to the Georgia negro and loyalist. No, we are thankful the Indian has one defence that the Negro never had. He is no citizen and has the right to make war. Well may he use that last right, and never yield it till "Citizenship" means more than it does now.

An Abolitionist may well glory in these Red men. When, in 1865, Gen. Sanborn carried to the Seminoles the news of emancipation, they instantly set their slaves free. But, more just than we, they proceeded at once to divide their possessions with them fairly; shared with them their pension money and, last winter, in Washington, were specially earnest to secure such a teacher as these emancipated men would prefer. When two or three years ago Sherman's Commission met the Indians, the Navajoes refused to come into conference unless their women could be admitted on equal terms with themselves to share the debate. Could these men be persuaded to undertake, for a few years to come, the task of Reconstruction! What a saving of time! What a saving of Honor!

Earnestly do we wish that this Nation could rise to the level of once doing an act of justice from pure and simple motives of honesty and duty. But it does not seem as if this level would ever be reached in our day. In default of that we rejoice to see the Nation scourged to its duty. Long and weary were the years, of blood and misfortune, that finally broke us into willingness to emancipate the black. May our stubbornness yield sooner and easier in this matter of the Indians. It seems probable. By the time Congress assembles again, we think its members will be ready,—as they never have been,—to *listen* on this topic. The sad and ponderous Documents stored in the Capitol will, at last, be read; and we shall learn that a Nation *by its own confession* always in the wrong, must seek some other path out of its troubles than by sending butchers to waste treasure and blood in the vain effort to "exterminate" a braver race than ours. We spent a hundred millions really,—fifty confessedly,—to "exterminate and remove" the Seminoles from Florida. But there are everglades in Florida to-day where no white man enters, and which the Seminole still holds. If this be the case in Florida with a thousand Seminoles, how likely are we to "exterminate" twenty thousand such, spread over the boundless West? Sherman is bartering the glories of Atlanta for defeat, utter and shameful and well deserved, on the prairies.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE NEGRO.

THE "irrepressible conflict" continues, as of course it must, until the absurd and invidious distinction on account of color, peculiar to this country, shall have come to an end. The contest for the ballot for the negro will end with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Just now the Printers' and Bricklayers' Unions are inquiring whether or not they shall conquer their prejudices and admit colored members upon equal terms with whites. The case of Mr. Douglass among the printers at Washington we have already published an account of. The National Typographical Union, the body authorized and expected to settle the question, by prohibiting proscription of members on account of color, is now in session at Albany, but does not seem likely to meet public expectation, by an unequivocal declaration in favor of equal rights. On Monday last Mr. D. W. Flynn, of Washington, offered the following:—

Whereas the highest interests of the working classes are attainable only by a union among themselves in which should be embraced all workingmen in the country; and whereas impartial justice will, as a sound and conservative policy, require that all workingmen, who are willing to support organizations tending to promote the welfare of workingmen, should be allowed to become members of such organizations, and not be prohibited for reasons not applicable to every workingman in the country; and whereas if any class of workingmen are denied admission into organizations for the promotion of the interests of the working classes on personal grounds alone such denial will certainly eventuate in the combination of the class denied against the existing organizations, resulting in a low scale of prices for both parties; therefore be it

Resolved, By the National Typographical Union Convention assembled, That it is contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution of the National Typographical Union, subversive of its interests, and in violation of the policy, principles and objects of the organization, to make race or color a test of qualification for membership.

Resolved, That it will be flagrantly unjust of any subordinate Union to deny admission to any printer merely on the ground of race or color.

On motion of Mr. Murray, of New Orleans, the resolutions were tabled—56 to 28. They may be called up again and favorably acted upon, but such an auspicious result does not now appear probable. The printers have evidently yet to discern the signs of the times, and to learn that by the exclusion of colored members from their organization they are not only inviting an unwelcome opposition to their own business interests, but that from this time forward they will be afflicted with an agitation of the negro question in their ranks until fair play for colored men and women in the organization shall have triumphed.

The Bricklayers' Union of Washington are dealing with the same problem. The Washington correspondent of *The Evening Post* says, June 4th:

"Another nice question involving the right of negro workmen not members of the Trades Union to be employed by the government without molestation by those who are members of that organization, has presented itself for decision to the Bricklayers' Union of this city.

"The Secretary of the Navy having recently issued an order that no distinction should be made on account of color in the employment of hands in the various navy yards, two negro bricklayers, named Johnson and Parker, respectively, applied for and obtained work at the navy yard here. They were refused cards permitting them to work under the rules until action could be taken upon their application for admission into the union by its president, who said their color was sufficient cause for denying them cards.

"Johnson was born and reared in this city, and was a slave until his twenty-first year, when he was given his freedom. He has worked at brick-laying for fifty-seven years in this city, in Louisiana, Liberia, Hayti and Cuba. He served in the First Louisiana Union Volunteers for four years and three months during the Rebellion, and was through all the engagements along the Mississippi from Vicksburg to New Orleans, and also in the Red River Expedition. He speaks the Spanish and French languages fluently, and is an intelligent man. Parker learned his trade in Norfolk, Va., and during the war served in the navy.

"The Union held a meeting last night to consider the matter, and, amid considerable excitement, a resolution was adopted ordering an immediate strike of all the bricklayers at the yard unless Johnson and Parker were removed. The case is still further complicated by a part of the force refusing to obey the order of the Union. It is believed that the government authorities will take prompt action, and give the Trades Union to understand that workmen are employed not on account of color or membership of a Union, but for their qualifications alone, and at the same time will make known their intention to protect the negro workmen, by force if necessary."

It is well that in both these cases the issue is raised on account of men appointed by the government to their work. A government which sends colored Ministers to represent the nation abroad cannot with any show of consistency allow competent colored workmen to be driven from the work to which it has appointed them, by mob violence, or the bricklayers' and printers' prejudices. The outcry of the negro-hating, copperhead journal in behalf of the white bricklayers, and about the "degradation of labor," etc., is characteristic, and ludicrous. The editors of *The World* and *The Express* are quite reconciled to the presence of colored men and women, even in fashionable parlors and dining rooms, if only they appear there in character of *servants*. Nor, we presume, would the printers and bricklayers, refuse to be waited upon, or helped by colored people as subordinate assistants. It is when colored men and women present themselves in any unaccustomed place, as self-respecting men and women, claiming and deserving the treatment due to such that they suddenly become most offensive to the proud and chivalrous, but unregenerate and unreconstructed American!

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE Massachusetts Senate decides by a vote of nine for, and twenty-two against, not to strike out the word "male" from the Constitution of that State as a qualification for voting. The report of the Senate Committee, portions of which we have published, was an able and valuable one, worth alone all the labor on the part of the friends of woman suffrage which called it forth. It will henceforth be an excellent vantage ground gained for new efforts. The progress in the public mind in favor of equal suffrage for women has been rapid, and very gratifying, but both in Massachusetts and in Kansas, the two most advanced States, the battle is yet far from being won. It is well for the friends of the measure not to be over sanguine, and to avoid disappointment by not counting upon too easy a victory. How much farther the Massachusetts Senate will go next year than this in the right direction will depend mainly upon the reception with which this year's adverse vote meets outside of that Senate. The report, which recognized and affirmed the right of women to vote and hold office, was all that the occasion called for; but the vote of the Senate is a shameful betrayal of the rights of the women of the commonwealth. Largely in the majority as women are in Massachusetts will they use promptly and effectively their present power of protest, and thus increase the senatorial votes in their favor next year? This is the duty now pressing upon the women of Massachusetts and all friends of woman suffrage.

It is well as a good method of agitation, of educating public opinion, and possibly to gain one, or more precedents, to beseige the State Legislatures. But the main point of attack for the friends of woman suffrage is Congress, for immediate legislation in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and for the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment already proposed by the Hon. George W. Julian. We trust the time is not far distant when there may be an efficient and truly representative national movement, judiciously administered, and concentrated upon the proposed Sixteenth Amendment, and such immediate legislation by Congress as may be urged without any amendment. The recent New England Woman Suffrage Convention, adopted a resolution looking to the formation of such a national woman's suffrage organization, and we understand that it is probable that a national, delegated Convention for the formation of such an organization will be held in this city during the approaching Autumn. Meanwhile let the work be pushed forward, as hitherto and at present, by individuals, with petitions, and by local organizations and conventions. Every advance step in the right direction renders the next one easier. The Fifteenth Amendment now, we trust, well nigh certain to be ratified, abolishing political proscription on account of race, will contribute largely to the speedy success of the movement for the abolition of the equally absurd, illogical and unjust political disfranchisement on account of sex. Without invidious, restrictive limitations of either educational or property qualifications, it is the right of all women, upon equal terms with men, in every State and territory of the Union to immediately assume and exercise all the prerogatives of citizenship. This right the nation must be brought as speedily as possible to fully recognize and guarantee.

CUYLER'S RULE.—Rev. T. L. CUYLER'S statement in the *Evangelist*, that "less than a hundred" persons attended the May Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in New York, was not a malicious falsehood, nor owing to any heedlessness on his part in trying to describe what he neither saw nor knew anything about. It resulted, we understand, from a rule he uses, in numbering an audience, never to count any person present unless he be the member of an Evangelical Church in good and regular standing. Accordingly the twelve or fourteen hundred persons in Steinway Hall on that occasion, amounted, by this mode of reckoning, to only about one hundred individuals. It seems but fair to Dr. Cuyler that this fact should be known; as otherwise some might suppose him to be guilty of gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation.

W. P.

POVERTY OF ZION'S HERALD.—The omission, by *Zion's Herald*, to mention the NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, in all its flowing notices of the Boston Anniversaries, was not owing to any lack of interest on GILBERT HAVEN'S part. A fitting notice was written out, but owing to want of type in the office it had to be omitted. Exertions are making among wealthy Methodists to supply this unfortunate lack. Success to it.

W. P.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Gen. Terry is now in command of the Department which includes Georgia, and already we are glad to see, gives evidence of a purpose to put an end to the murderous depredations of the Ku-Klux.

We reprint in another column the speech of Hon. G. W. GREENE in the Rhode Island Legislature. Mr. Greene's reputation in American literature, and especially his historical criticisms, gives his argument additional weight.

Great efforts are being made to displace the Hon. HENRY M. TURNER recently appointed by President Grant as post master at Macon, Ga. On Monday it was telegraphed from Washington that his removal had been decided upon. We trust that he is not to be removed, to appease his negro-hating, unreconstructed neighbors. *The Times* Washington correspondent says:

"The reported removal of Postmaster Turner, at Macon, Ga., which was so current on the street yesterday, and which was given in these dispatches simply as a report, turns out to be incorrect, or at least premature. The removal has not been made, and there is no authority for saying that it will be. The pressure to accomplish it is very strong."

The Washington election, held on Monday last, resulted in a splendid triumph for the Republicans of that city. They elected their entire ticket, including several colored men, by about five thousand majority. No stone had been left unturned by the sham-Democracy to compass their defeat. There was some disorder at the polls, greatly exaggerated by the negro-hating journals. These journals are likewise very doleful as to the future of Washington! Anything to these white, sham-Democrats wears a doleful aspect which subjects them to the disagreeable necessity of equal, fair-play competition with the colored people. So long as they can keep their feet upon a prostrate negro's neck they are self-confident, and everything is promising and cheerful with them. The Washington election will do great good as a renewed stimulant to the colored voters of the South.

It is not all unexpected to us that there should be a fresh crop of rumors and exaggerated accounts of depredations by the Indians. It is one of the methods resorted to by the speculators, and disappointed politicians who love so well to manipulate Indian affairs, to embarass and ultimately to defeat the present humane experiment which looks to the citizenship for the Indian.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington on Tuesday received the following telegram from Enoch Hoag, Quaker Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Atchison, Kansas, dated June 6:

"The reports of hostilities in North-West Kansas are exaggerated and conflicting. Eight or ten remote settlers are said to have been killed. The exposed settlements are preparing for defense. The Indians are supposed to be Northern Cheyennes and Sioux."

President Grant has issued a timely general order in relation to the management of Indian affairs, which we shall publish in our next issue.

The Rev. Thomas Farrell, a Catholic clergyman whose correspondence some time since from the South to the *Tribune* attracted considerable attention, delivered a lecture at St. Joseph's Church in this city, on the evening of the 6th inst., remarkable for its liberality and just and discriminating statements. Mr. Farrell, whose subject, "Catholics and their Needs," did not prevent him pronouncing decided opinions upon political affairs, spoke at length concerning his recent visit and the present condition of the South, declaring that not only did the best men thank God for the death of slavery, but that they were united in desiring universal suffrage to be the fundamental law of the Republic. We quote the conclusion of the reverend gentleman's remarks from the very imperfect report of the *New York Herald*:

"The safest man to follow in Church and State was the radical. Why? Reform will come, and the sooner it comes the better. If the Protestants are prejudiced so much the worse for them, and it is no reason why Catholics should be prejudiced against Protestants. He had heard Catholics, clergymen and laymen, say that Protestants had no principle of morality. That was a lie and wicked, as they believed in God and the Ten Commandments. They were prejudiced against the abolitionists, who had been the best friends the free laboring population ever had in this country. If the people once know the truth they will put prejudice under their feet. The reverend speaker then referred to the prejudice prevailing against emancipation, and granting the suffrage to the freedmen, and spoke earnestly against such prejudices, and he also paid a glowing eulogy on the character of the American people for having adopted a short, sharp and decisive policy in this respect, the success of which was wonderful. They had "rained" 400 teachers and five millions in money upon the South for the education of the freedmen, as the only punishment America inflicts upon rebels. The reverend gentleman closed with an eloquent peroration in favor of the unity of the Christian family."

PERSONAL.

The Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, delivered a very interesting and appropriate address in that city on Wednesday afternoon last on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of a new building for the "Home of the Friendless."

George T. Downing, Esq., of Rhode Island, a well-known colored citizen, is talked of for collector at Newport. We hope Mr. Downing, who is in every respect well qualified for the duties of the position, will receive the appointment.

Miss Mary J. Safford of Cario, Ill., who delivered the valedictory address at the sixth annual Commencement of the New York Medical College for Women, sailed from this city on the 10th instant for Europe, whither she goes to complete her medical education. We understand that it is Miss Safford's design to first proceed to Vienna and familiarize herself with the hospital practices of that city, after which she will visit Berlin, Paris, Edinburgh and other cities offering the best opportunities for observation in medical science.

The Springfield Republican says:

"Ole Bull, now in Boston, was on Saturday evening invited by the managers of the peace festival to join the mammoth orchestra as first leading violinist. The wielder of the magic bow responded at once by joining the committee at the close of his brilliant Music Hall concert, and eloquently accepted the distinction. He said, among other bits of wisdom and beauty, 'if there is a bridge between humanity and heaven, that bridge is music.' On Monday he tried his violin in the coliseum, and pronounces the acoustic qualities of the building excellent. He will perform at the festival his own arrangement of 'Auld Lang Syne,' accompanied by the orchestra of 1000 instruments."

John G. Whittier's remarkable and beautiful poem, "The Cry of a Lost Soul," founded on a tradition of northern Brazil, that the lonely night cry of a certain bird is not the note of a bird, but of

"The pained soul of some infidel
Or cursed heretic that cries from hell,"

has so pleased the emperor of Brazil that he recently sent the Quaker poet two finely stuffed specimens of the bird, but they were stolen in transit. Two more, sent after the emperor found out the theft, have now arrived, and have been on exhibition for some time at the house of one of Mr. Whittier's friends in Boston.

The Springfield Republican says:

"Mrs. Howe, Thursday night, held the attention of on

of Springfield's most representative audiences while she set forth the doctrines of woman suffrage in her persuasive manner. She addressed herself rather to the intelligence and good will of her hearers than to their feelings and prejudices, and must have disappointed those, if any there were, who came expecting denunciation or thrilling appeal. She presented her theme in the best way, however, as a natural sequence of the progress heretofore made in society and government, more, than as a revolt against things established and cherished. Senator Wilson, who was under promise to be present found himself unable, and sent a dispatch at the last moment to say so, which was a sore disappointment to many. The city association for the promotion of women suffrage, has been expanded into a county organization, similar to those formed or forming in all the counties of the State."

Miss Edmonia Lewis, the young colored sculptor, with whose works and history the readers of THE STANDARD are familiar, arrived in this city, from her long sojourn in Rome, early this month. Miss Lewis during her residence in Italy, which extended over five years, executed a variety of statues, groups and busts of well-known persons and objects, as well as ideal pieces, which rank her among the first of our younger artists, and which have found purchasers, or been executed as orders, at remunerative prices. Conspicuous among these may be mentioned Charlotte Cushman, (marble); Longfellow (bust, colossal); Spring (an ideal, a charming creation); Hagar (a statue, marble); Groups from Hiawatha, etc. The most of Miss Lewis' completed works remain in Europe, but she brings with her finely executed photographs of some of the principal ones, from which their rare merit can easily be perceived. As Miss Lewis designs remaining in this country but a few months, those who desire to secure some true work of art from her hand will do well to communicate with her at once. Miss Lewis for a few days can be addressed at No. 193 Prince street, this city.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 6th, 1869.

AFTER various delays, partly of the Legislative Committee, and partly from the objections of Senators opposed to the women's cause, the Resolve introduced by that Committee, proposing such an amendment of our Constitution as to enable Massachusetts women to vote, reached the stage of public debate in the Senate on Tuesday last. The ladies who had petitioned for this amendment were of course anxious to hear the debate, but very few could gain admittance, so small is the space allotted to the public in our Senate chamber.

The debate was opened by Hon. Whiting Griswold, chairman of the Joint Special Committee. In a speech of an hour's length, he rehearsed the arguments of the Report, of the substance of which I have already informed you. After him, Mr. Dowse of Middlesex County, the only dissenting member of the Committee, took the other side.

His argument was, that the allegations that women were oppressed, and that the suffrage would relieve them from oppression, were unproved assumptions; that the men of Massachusetts were ready to remove any real grievance, but that in this case they saw none; that if the proposed change should be made, women would share the deterioration necessarily belonging to politics, without raising men from it; that as the female animal looks to the male for provision and protection, so nature directs woman to look to man for these; that behind every vote should stand a sword or a bayonet to support it, and as these are unfit for women, so the vote is unfit; that the Bible opposes the mingling of women in State affairs; that if such a change is ever to be made, it should not be now; and finally, that the modesty of woman shrinks from voting, and prefers to grace the home, wherein alone the millennium is to be found.

Next came a very able and interesting speech from Hon. Robert C. Pitman, President of the Senate, who heartily gave his voice in favor of women's suffrage.

Mr. Pitman thought it highly desirable that purifying and refining influences should be brought into our politics. Purity of heart, disinterestedness, humanity, eminently feminine qualities, were important helps in the consideration of great questions. In all reformatory action the partnership of the heart would help the head. There is a strong presumption of nature that the feminine element is necessary to complete the harmony of life in government as in other departments. As the union of feminine with masculine traits makes the highest type of the human being, so the companionship of woman with man always aids in the improvement of society.

For participation in government, two things were necessary: capacity to govern, and right intention towards the public welfare. We are then to inquire, Has woman such capacity and such intention? Mr. Pitman thought she had both, and would therefore give her the suffrage.

Then we must ask, Is this charge for the good of the State? The State is a protector, an encourager, an educator. It needs the peculiar characteristics of women in all these departments.

Our great questions are moral questions. The tact, the sagacity, the intelligence of woman in the reforms now pending would be of the greatest service to us.

Again: women, though not better than men, are pure; their temptations are different; they are free from the vices that concern legislation; their suffrage is needed for the purification of politics.

The welfare of home, so often urged as a reason against women's suffrage, really operates in the opposite direction. Why should not woman protect herself against the desolation which the intemperance of men brings into thousands of homes? She would vote against the allowance of those strong temptations which now beset the weak at every street corner.

Woman has the capacity to aid *specially* in legislation. Her influence in regard to the treatment of crime with a view to the reformation of the criminal—her views of prison discipline—of the treatment of the insane—of the details of school education—of the instruction of the blind and the deaf, and of the various methods of public charity—are precisely what we need. Our success in these matters has been but partial for want of the influence of women in arranging them.

As to the inquiry, How will the proposed change affect woman herself, Judge Pitman thought there was a strong presumption that it would affect her favorably; and that there was no reason for apprehension from this source, either for the interests of the family, or the welfare of woman in any way. In his judgment, both the interests of woman and the interests of humanity called for this measure.

Although Judge Pitman came so decidedly to these conclusions, he questioned, or rather denied, to my surprise, one of the grounds on which others have adopted them, namely, the allegation that the father has, by our laws, a right to make a will committing the guardianship of his children to a person other than his wife and their mother, and irrespective of her consent and desire. I feel confident that this matter is correctly stated in the tract lately written by Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, entitled "Legal Condition of Women in Massachusetts." Probably the cases are few in which such a cruel power has been exercised, but a law like that should not be suffered to remain on our statute-book.

When the question was taken, the Senate voted, 22 to 9, against the proposed amendment to the Constitution. So we are to have another year of agitation in regard to women's suffrage, with circulation of petitions, holding of Conventions, distribution of tracts, canvassing in caucusses, sifting of nominations, catechising of candidates, and leave to withdraw to those who would retain under disfranchisement the decided majority of the adult people of Massachusetts.

As the community are fast changing in their view of this matter, so will the legislators change. Among the indications of a forward movement here, is the unprecedented appointment of a young lady, a graduate of the Everett School in this city, to read the Declaration of Independence at the municipal celebration of the coming Fourth of July. By and by a lady will be asked to give the oration.

We have now the beginning of what has long been needed, a supply of commodious drinking fountains in the more frequented streets of the city. They are so arranged as to accommodate at once a horse on one side, a man (with a tin dipper) on the other, and a couple of dogs at the bottom on the two remaining sides, the water flowing through each without cessation all day and night. It is said that, in addition to these, numerous stations for the distribution of iced water will be maintained by the city during the expected influx of visitors for the Musical Festival; a measure which will greatly help the operation of the prohibitory liquor-law.

Since the remodelling of our State House, the Doric Hall, beneath the Representatives' Chamber, has been put in better order than ever before. There are niches in its sides for four busts; two of them are occupied by busts of Samuel Adams and President Lincoln, the foremost men of the two revolutionary periods; those of Sumner and Andrews are soon to fill the vacant places; and around these, and the statue of Washington in the great recess opposite the front entrance, are grouped the flags brought back by Massachusetts regiments from the war of the rebellion.

To turn from great things to small, Hon. Richard H. Dana has withdrawn the action he had entered against the Mayor and Alderman of Cambridge in 1868, for striking his name from the voting-list—for cause. He originally asked for $5,000 damages. He now seems to doubt if this sum, or any other, will be recoverable. What he *says* is—"I doubt if, under the circumstances, the case will be of much public value, in the shape it may present itself." NORTH.

NEW ENGLAND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting of this Association began at Tremont Temple, in Boston, on Tuesday evening, May 25th. There was a large and enthusiastic audience in attendance, and among the friends of the cause assembled on the platform were LUCY STONE, STEPHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Mrs. CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, Mrs. ARMENIA WHITE of Concord, N. H., Mrs. PAULINA W. DAVIS of Providence, Mrs. CAROLINE R. PUTNAM of Salem, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and Rev. B. F. BOWLES of Cambridge.

The President of the Association, Mrs. JULIA WARD HOWE, called the meeting to order, and presided with dignity and skill through most of the sessions, which were continued at Horticultural Hall through the following day and evening.

After the singing of a song by the Hutchinsons, who had kindly offered to assist at these meetings, and whose music always touches the heart and awakes a longing for more, Mrs. Howe made an introductory address, as follows:—

FRIENDS: As President of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Convention, it becomes my pleasant duty to welcome to these walls the friends of the movement, present and prospective. As, according to law, every man is held innocent until proved guilty, so according to charity we are bound to suppose every man open to conviction until his conduct assures us to the contrary. We, therefore, the officers of the Society, meet you as friends of all just and liberal measures. If you do not as yet place our movement among these, we shall hope so to present and forward our cause as to induce its speedy adoption by all who wish well to humanity.

And first, as to the progress of the cause here and elsewhere. The organization of this Society dates only from November last. Our first executive action was directed to the printing of documents and the circulating of petitions. We began by publishing the five tracts whose titles are familiar to most of you, being prefixed to each of our several publications. In turn, a sixth was subsequently added, being Hon. George F. Hoar's able argument in our behalf before the Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature. These tracts have been sold at cost by our Secretary, Mr. Charles K. Whipple, and have been sent wherever desired. Our advocates, however, have so far increased in number, that to give this permanent form to all the eloquent words spoken for us, would now require a much larger printing fund than we at present possess. The circulation of petitions has brought us 8000 signatures, appealing to the State Legislature, and many more to the central Government at Washington.

Our Convention, moreover, has been fruitful in other Conventions. The first of these was held in Providence, the second in Concord, N. H., a third at Springfield, Mass., and a fourth recently in the neighboring city of Salem. In the two places first named, State associations were at once set on foot—in the two latter, county associations. That of Springfield in a single month distributed 600 tracts and obtained 700 signatures to petitions. These petitions with many others were referred by the Legislature to a joint special committee which twice gave ample opportunity for the petitioners to plead their own cause. The report of this Committee was entirely favorable to the desired extension of suffrage, and forms a valuable addition to the printed documents we already possess. Bills in favor of our measure have been presented in the legislatures of Rhode Island, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, South Carolina, Illinois, and Dacotah, and have received ample consideration, while in nearly every case the women have been allowed to become their own advocates. The Women's Universal Franchise Association of the District of Columbia called a Convention in February last, to be held in Washington. This Convention was numerously attended by members of Congress and others. In its order, Lucretia Mott and seventy-five other ladies appeared in the Senate as petitioners for Woman Suffrage. Four new journals have been started expressly devoted to this cause. Large and enthusiastic Conventions have been held in the West, of which you will hear in the course of these meetings from one of their ablest representatives. Last, not least, in the Congress of the United States, early during the last session, Henry Wilson introduced a bill for Woman Suffrage in the District of Columbia. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, in the Senate, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, in the House, introduced bills for the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, to the end that the right of suffrage may be unconditionally extended to women. Similar bills were presented by the same members to the new Congress, after the inauguration of Gen. Grant.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we first came together for the consideration of this measure, not eight months ago, we had nothing to utter but promise and prophecy. We have now, as you see, a history. Prophecy makes history, for true prophets are workers, not dreamers, and make haste to embody in service what they first see in the revelations of a devout fancy. A few hours of prophetic pleading have led to a winter's campaign of hopeful and interesting labor. History now shall in turn aid prophecy, and what we have done in a short time and with very limited means enables us to promise a far more rapid progress, as the electric chain of sympathy shall extend itself, linking together the sex which has hitherto most favored separation and exclusion.

A Christian parable, not quite superseded by the progress of Brahminism among us, receives a new illustration from our experiences. We were all well-wishers to our sex before we began to help them, but our passive good-will was laid away in a napkin, and though it was a comfortable circumstance for us to remember, it was dead capital, and gained nothing. But we have now invested our good-will in effort, and its multiplication surprises us. What marvellous seed did we sow in the field that it should bear such a sudden and weighty crop? Ah! the silent centuries had furrowed it for us. The eternal sun had warmed and fertilized its bosom. When the convenient time came, we scattered our little endeavor, and the harvest is one that shall feed the future.

Friends sometimes condole with us on our grave deficiency in means of progress. They say: "One important thing you want. You have no opposition." This is not true. We have an opposition, but have scarcely worked long enough to know where to place it. I think that we shall find it partly in the conventional prejudices of society, but far more in the *vis inertiae* and indifference of women. From them, if from any one, will come the temporary ignoring and reprobation of our reform. Intelligent and honest men—the real male power of the community—are almost unanimously agreed that women ought to have the suffrage if they want it, while the wisest see that they should have it whether or no. But among women, large numbers, particularly of the prosperous classes, are indifferent or inimical to the enfranchisement of their sex. We must remember that reforms rarely begin with this class. To the poor, the Gospel is preached—to the poor, it means something.

The rich think themselves well enough off. The poor men of prophetic thought find their first and best support in the prophetic heart of the people. And when prophet and people have come together in potent combination, fashion, with a little hysterical protest, takes off her gloves and adds her stereotyped signature to the compact, which she cannot ignore without being left out in the cold. So friends, we have got this *vis inertiae* to work against. Our methods of procedure shall, we promise you, be cordial and peaceable, and that my introduction may no longer delay the work crowded into the few hours which we can hope to pass together, I shall now have the honor of presenting to you those who have come up to help us.

After another song from the Hutchinsons, Mrs. HOWE introduced as the next speaker Hon. JAMES W. STILLMAN, of Westerly, R. I., who had already been known to the Association as the earnest advocate of the women's cause in the Legislature of his own State.

Mr. STILLMAN said that a sense of the injustice done by our laws and usages to half the population of the country was a sufficient reason for him to raise his voice in their behalf. He spoke of the strength of traditionary prejudice and the force of custom, and proceeded to inquire into the origin and foundation of our customs on the point in question. He found this origin mainly in the superior physical strength of man, and appealed to the audience whether a juster system should not now be established. His own right to vote, he said, sprang from his position as a human being; and women have the same qualification. Government, the creature of the community, cannot confer rights on the community. Suffrage is absolutely the right of every human being; an inherent right, irrespective of race, color or sex. If government would administer justice, it must be founded on justice; and it has the right to govern only as that power is committed to it by the whole community.

Mr. Stillman, then referred to the old ideas of the English common law, noticed how greatly these had been modified by our advancing civilization; and touched upon some of the popular objections to women's suffrage.

The President then introduced Mrs. MARY A. LIVERMORE of Chicago, after alluding to her very able advocacy of women's rights in the West, and to the good service rendered to that cause by the *Agitator*, of which she is editor.

Mrs. LIVERMORE was received with great applause, at the close of which she said—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—For a woman to come from the prairies to talk woman's suffrage in Boston is very much like carrying coals to Newcastle. You have had this matter discussed here more thoroughly than in any other part of the country, by your grandest men and most illustrious women. You have carried the cause forward with such success that we in the West consider that you are already victorious, and we look upon the State of Massachusetts as the banner State. And yet, when I tell you that our movement in the West is very largely the outcoming of your movement in Massachusetts, you will see the propriety of my reporting about the condition of the cause in my part of the country. We had not moved in the cause except to talk among ourselves, and write articles now and then for our leading newspapers, until the Convention in Boston last November; and as in the West we have come to feel that Massachusetts is in some sort the brain and conscience of the country,—as we usually look to see which way her path leads and to see whether her banner is up, we immediately took steps to have a Suffrage Convention at the West, and held one which was unprecedented in its effect upon the country.

We found everything ready for the movement. People came to our meeting whom we didn't expect—people of the extremest Orthodox views, and representatives of the most liberal natural religion, Republican and Democrat, saint and infidel. The most ignorant and the most learned people attended these meetings. We had women in positions the most enviable, and those who had been trodden down till womanhood had been almost trodded out of them. So to-night it is perhaps not utterly inappropriate that I should say to you what we have done through what has been done here.

We are looking eagerly and earnestly to Massachusetts to see what is to be done. We don't want a Western State to give women the right to vote first. There is a feeling throughout the West that Massachusetts shall lead, as she always has in any work of reform. (Applause). And if this State decides that women shall vote, it will confirm the belief of a great many timid and doubting people in our midst, and accelerate the cause better than if Kansas, or Wisconsin, or Illinois should give us the right.

We are usually asked, what do you women complain of? What have you to find fault with? Are you not the most favored class? Don't we (the men) toil for you, and earn money that you may dress elegantly, live luxuriantly and furnish you with splendid equipages, and are we not willing to continue to do so? I will speak of the things we do complain of: The wrongs of women, which are supposed to have an existence only in the imagination.

The first thing I complain of is that we are seriously defrauded in the matter of education. There is not today in this country one first-class college open to women, not excepting Vassar College, for I know how stingy, poor and inadequate are the arrangements there for the education of women. They are not such as are approved at Harvard; and over the doors of all the first-class colleges in the Eastern, Middle and Western States is still written the words "sacred to man." No woman is admitted there, and she who applies is looked upon as an intruder. Do not suppose that women do not desire these advantages; they have sought admission to them. Let me give you a single instance. Not more than a year ago twenty-three young girls, who had been well reared in good families, and were model housekeepers, intelligent and capable, applied for admission to Wabash College in Indiana—not a first-class college. They were quietly told that there was no place for them, and when the students petitioned to let them in, they were urged not to be sap-heads and not to seek to be tied to a woman's apron strings.

Even if I admit that the domestic sphere is the only one for which woman is fitted, there is no good reason why she should not receive the same advantages for education with men. (Great applause). If women are to be the mothers of the world, they should have a chance for intellectual and mental growth as well as men. (Applause). In the old days of Sparta, Lycurgus made arrangements to preserve and promote the health of women, that mothers might be made strong and vigorous, and care was given to the matter. Here we don't even do as well as that by women. They are made to submit to unhealthy employments and fashions of dress and very inadequate arrangements for education.

I have been through the academies and seminaries, and have found that the education which you obtain there is not of the robust kind. The pupils get a very poor smattering of the superior studies, and a very large amount of the ornamental studies. They get a very little of very poor Latin, a very little of very poor mathematics, and a great deal of piano, a great deal of dabbling in oils and crayons, and a great deal of what is ornamental, pleasing and agreeable. They come out fancying that they are educated, and their mothers say their children graduated with diplomas. The course of study would degrade a man and make him smaller and feebler than a small and feeble man is by nature. (Applause and laughter). And though they do not say to the pupils, "your business in the world is to marry well, and to have homes that can be made pleasing and agreeable, to fulfill your mission," the draft of their teaching is in that direction. And the girls understand it. They come out versed in what is pleasing and agreeable, and that is all. That is very well, but women take to that by nature, and are inclined to do it themselves. Therefore, is it not quite as well to leave that out, and give to women the same intellectual training that man receives? (Vigorous applause).

The men who believe this should set their faces, like flint, against the State's granting aid to any college which closes its doors against women, and we must keep up the agitation on this subject till we secure this point in our favor. Can women be fit for mothers and know nothing of physiology? Are they fitted to take into their care new-born children, with wonderful mechanisms, and give them the mental and physical training which they should receive?

We are defrauded in another matter, since education should be adapted to the business of life. As girls are not fitted in schools for anything useful, they come out without any useful work before them. There are 700 employments that can be carried on indoors, and in not over 100 of these can women be employed as well as men. They can be book-keepers and cashiers in a small way, and do a dozen or twenty different things, and that is all. In these few employments the great mass of women are compelled to earn their own livelihood, crowded like cattle in the stockyards, until they crowd one another down to earth. Out of this paucity of employments comes the cry of starvation and suffering that went up from your Workingwomen's Convention here a few weeks since, which thrilled us through and through on the prairies, and made us long to call upon them to come out there to our open air work and grow strong and vigorous. (Applause).

There is another evil growing out of this state of things. A poor woman struggling with life against powerful odds by honest employment, sells herself to that which is dishonorable in seeking to keep body and soul together—sells her soul utterly and has only the debased body left. This statement is denied. When the 70,000 women in New York who are to-day living in sin and shame are spoken of, the pulpit and the press shake their heads and say that it is not for lack of employment. I dare to deny that most emphatically, and say that, if to-morrow you give to women living in disreputable houses an amount of work that will furnish them with the comforts of life they now enjoy, three-fourths of them would go into decent employments. (Loud applause).

It is claimed that the men support the women, but they cannot to the fullest extent. Here in this State there are 62,000 more women than men, and a vast majority of them must take care of themselves. The temperance party comes along and says that you have 40,000 drunkards in Massachusetts, and their wives and daughters not only have to support themselves, but also the cruel men who make life a terror to them. We have in Illinois 100,000 drunkards, the great proportion of whom are married. Think of the work of the wives of these drunken men. It is absolutely impossible for women to live honestly and respectably, and support themselves as women should, in the few and crowded employments of labor which they are now permitted to enter. Women are partly to blame to-day for not having these employments open to them. I have found in my experience that women whose courage and capacity enabled them to enter any other department, asking no favors, working well side by side with men, have never been repulsed, but have had fellowship extended to them as soon as they have shown themselves earnest workers. That experiment is being tried in the West because we have more work and fewer laborers. In our harvest fields, during July and August, we find women busy in doing light out-door work, which doesn't take away in the least their delicacy of character. Is it more indelicate for woman to sit on the nice easy seat of a horse-rake than it is for her to ride on horseback with a gentleman on a pleasure excursion? In one instance she is simply taking her pleasure, and in the other instance she has the right sort of work and the pleasure—doing work and earning money at the same time. It isn't now considered honorable or respectable for a woman to work for wages. Whenever you make it as honorable for women to work and earn money as it is for men, then woman will have made a great stride towards her proper condition. (Loud applause).

Woman complains of the legislatures, because the laws are not made to suit us that are made for us. In my own State, women have no right to the money they earn. The laws of Massachusetts are more favorable than in any other State; but until a month ago the laws of Illinois took the wages of women and gave them to their husbands, no matter how much they might be in need of them. I remember an instance last fall where a poor woman took charge of the Bridewell, one of our public buildings in Chicago. Not needing the money, she let it lay for four months. When spring came she went to get her money, and found that it had been trusteed to pay her husband's liquor bill. And there was no help for this by the laws of Illinois. A little while after a worse case occurred. A poor woman who had been earning money for five years by setting newly-furnished houses in order for their occupants, managed to save up $612. Several gentlemen and ladies interested in her industry, advised her to invest this money in a lot of land in a growing part of the city, which would be sure to rise, and offered to go security for her. When she went to get the money she discovered that her husband had taken off her bank-book, and all her money was gone. He took her money and her little boy and went to New York. Imagine the distress of that poor mother, who would rather have given $6,000, if it were hers, than to have had her darling child stolen from her sight.

Stung by these repeated acts of injustice to these poor women, a few of us decided to go down to the State Legislature, tell the story, and ask the legislators to put aside the 1500 private bills that were engrossing their attention, and attend to the righting of this great iniquity—the laws concerning marriage. We hired a hall and invited them to come and hear us talk. Many of them accepted; the Lieutenant-Governor presided, and the Governor was among the audience. They listened to our arguments, and went back and passed a law repealing that which gave the earnings of married women to their husbands. And to-day a married woman can go into any business she chooses, sue and be sued, the same as a man. More than that, finding what a terrible thing a drunken husband is, the Legislature passed a law which provides that if a man will debase himself by drunkenness, and as the head of the family will abuse his wife and children, he can be put under guardianship as if he were an idiot.

Another law that I complain of is that which seems to consider women incompetent to take care of their children's property after their father's death. Who believes that a mother will be any less careful of her child's welfare than a father? And yet the unlimited disposal of his children's property is left with the father, to marry again and do as he pleases generally.

I object also to the taxing of women without representation. They are taxed on millions of money, and yet not represented by a single vote.

If all the women in the land demanded suffrage, all the men would soon back the women.

Horace Greeley said the women didn't want to vote, and soon there came a petition signed by 13,000 women, with Mrs. Horace Greeley's name at the head of it. Which of the two knew best what Mrs. Horace Greeley wanted?

The Temperance cause would be very greatly aided by the votes of women. Who believed that the wives of drunken husbands would vote the same way as their husbands, as some claimed. In the West we say that Woman Suffrage means temperance, and it means the same in Massachusetts as it does there, and the wives of the 40,000 drunkards would see that no liquor was sold in this State.

In a town in Michigan the general sentiment was in favor of granting licenses to the hotels and a few saloons; but the women protested against it on all occasions so vigorously that the men, in a jesting mood, declared that the women should vote in the question, and their ballots should decide it. When the day came, the strange experience made the three hundred women somewhat timid; but they met in a church vestry (not in a saloon, confectionary store or millinery establishment), and marched in twos to the Town House, where they all voted in the negative, the men treating them in a most respectful manner. As they passed through the line of men on their return, the women saw tears in the eyes of many of their male relatives and friends, and as they left the men, the latter gave three times three cheers that made the welkin ring. (Applause). That is a sample of the way women will vote.

Is it alleged that women will lose their refinement and delicacy by going to vote at the polls? Please remember that we shall have that matter better managed than it is now, for men as well as women. We shall have quiet and orderly places in which to vote, and the quiet and orderly men will join us there.

Then the things voted for; can they be worse than at present? In Chicago the Sunday act has never been enforced, because the lager-beer shops must be kept open to secure the German vote to the Republicans, and the whiskey-shops must be kept open to secure the Irish vote to the Democrats. So the city lies helpless at the mercy of whiskey and lager every Sunday.

There can be no antagonism between the sexes. God has settled that matter by the nature He has given to both, and His laws cannot be broken. Neither are women asking for their rights because they are weary of their duties. But they have powers to which there has yet been allowed no due development.

Women have not failed in fit service to the country in war any more than in peace. When the rebellion broke out, the Government asked us to give up our husbands and sons. Our hearts said No, our lips said Yes. What multitudes of those dear ones never came back. The South is billowy with their graves. During those long years of trial we read, and thought, and grew up to the full stature of men. We cannot go back. We must examine your action and judge of your policy. We shall say this is right, and that is wrong. We have reached a grander development than ever before; and we now look for a fulfillment of the noble words of the apostle—There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

At the close of this speech Mrs. HOWE made some announcements for the morrow's meeting, and the session closed with a song from the Hutchinsons, "The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

[A synopsis of Wednesday's proceedings we shall print next week.—Ed.]

A London clergyman advertises that he will "lend" his weekly sermons for half a crown a piece, or four for 10s., warranted "original, earnest and evangelical."

Woman suffrage is recognized by the Methodist Episcopal Church. All members of that church over twenty-one years of age are called upon to vote on the question of lay representation, next month.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IN your issue of May 15th under the heading "Absurd Prejudice against Color," signed by me, I stated some facts, upon the authority of the National Grand Sire, as well as some other members of the National Grand Lodge of Good Samaritans and daughters of Samaria, showing the absurd prejudice against color, still existing amongst that Temperance order. Notwithstanding the overwhelming denunciation and abuse which I have received from two members, in the last issue of your paper, I beg to say that not one single fact has been disproved, nor has it been shown that the same old pro-slavery feeling is not still rampant amongst a portion of that Order.

Mr. Henry Russell's allusion to my professional associate, Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, was seemingly made under the inspiration of the suspicion that Dr. S. had instigated my article. I have only to say that Dr. S. was absent from the city when it was written, and was not consulted about or notified of my purpose to prepare it, and has probably never seen the article in question. I cannot see the justice or propriety of dragging his name into the controversy. But the consistency of this new Lord Russell will appear when I state that apparently not satisfied with the high and deserved compliment paid to Dr. Snodgrass by the colored people, to which Mr. Russell himself assented, in electing him "a perpetual member" of the Order, he, Mr. R., expressed in my hearing, the purpose of running him, Dr. S., for the highest office in the gift of himself and his colored associates. As to the other gentleman, who is referred to as one who "proposed to be the Moses" of the colored people, I prefer to leave him to fight his own battles. But still I am moved to say that if "Mr. Charles A. Guinand" really has been the sincere "friend" of the colored members of the Order under notice, he took a queer way of showing it when, as Chairman, he unauthorizedly gave the casting vote against, not *for*, a colored brother, when there happened to be a tie vote, between him and a white one running for an office in the National Lodge, instead of ordering another ballot as the rules and custom alike demanded. So eager was this "Republican" to prevent the election of a negro to office.

But the colored people have learned to appreciate at its full value the "friendship" of W. G.; and the milk of his cocoa-nut, probably, is the circumstance that they lost confidence in him, and sought another "Moses" in in preference to him to lead them to that promised land of co-equal rights, which he so long prevented them from reaching while professing the rarest devotion to their welfare.

I again assert, without fear of truthful contradiction, that gross injustice has been done to the colored members of the Order of "Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria," and their *real* white "friends." If my drawing attention to the facts shall in any way help them to their proper place, and in obtaining all the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, but which are still withheld from them, my statement has not been made in vain.

As I mentioned, a general Convention is to be held in Boston about the middle of August next. It is hoped your courteous correspondents will both attend and show by their votes and conduct that they have repented of their evil ways, are "reconstructed" and become Good Samaritans worthy of the name. I desire no controversy with them, having no personal feeling in the matter, and hope you will not suffer them to make any more such ill-natured and unjust remarks in your columns.

It is distasteful to me to use your valuable space for any such purpose, and I hope I shall not be tempted to pursue my revelations further, even as touching the bearing of the "meanest of the white race" toward the noblest of the colored. Very respectfully,

HANS POWELL, M.D.
184 East Broadway, New York City.

LITERARY.

THE NEW WEST; OR, CALIFORNIA IN 1867-1868. By Charles Loring Brace. 373 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam and Son.

The author of this very readable book says in his preface that his plan has been "to sketch such features of California and her process of development as most travellers have thus far neglected." So he has written less of her mining enterprises than of her agriculture, fruit-culture, vine-growing, and such undeveloped branches as silk-worm growing, and wine-making, which he considers are to be the basis of her future prosperity. He thinks California is destined to be as vast a vine-growing and wine-making State as France; and contends, we think unwisely, that intemperance may be checked by inducing the vine-growers to make light, pure wines, and discouraging the use of brandy and whiskey.

He writes enthusiastically of the invigorating climate, the remarkable scenery, the unsurpassed wonders of the Yosemite Canon, and of the giant trees, some of which he describes as 325 feet in height. He mentions one tree, estimated at 1,370 years old, which is thirty-five feet in diameter, and which it took three men twenty-five days to cut down, boring the trunk with augers.

He pays a high compliment to the public schools of San Francisco, and affirms that in the "Object System" of teaching, this young city of the Pacific is already in advance of New York. Almost every school has a picture of Lincoln and Starr King on its walls. The latter we are told has become a kind of saint in the Pacific States.

Of the Chinese he bears the following testimony:

"One of the most striking figures to the traveler, in the California landscape, is the Oriental and half pensive form of the Chinese emigrant, always calm amid all the bustle around him. * * * Clear, social, sober, polite, with an expression, it often seems to me, of half contempt for this western hurry and barbarism; they are and most respectable working population I ever saw. I am often surprised at the faces and expressions one encounters among them; such, if you saw them in European dress, you would have said were the faces of scholars and gentlemen—countenances frequently of marked refinement, and eyes of deep, thoughtful, almost sad expression. * * * He dresses frequently (in the country), like an American; he begins occasionally to eat beef and has already learned something of Yankee sharpness. In general, however, he is still a stranger—the very incarnation of meekness and submission beneath the strong race which he is serving. * * *

The whites have cheated, robbed, beaten him, and he has returned it all with docility and faithful service. When struck, he struck not again; when robbed (at least so it was a few years ago), he complained not; when murdered, there was often no redress. The most miserable drunken white ruffian could beat him, or strip him of his hard earnings, or kill him, and if there were no white witnesses, justice could not overtake the offender. While all other men—even the lowest vagabonds—were gladly admitted to the mines, he alone was, and is now, excluded; and even on the placer-diggings, he alone must pay his tax of four dollars before being permitted to work. Even the Digger Indians, seeing this universal oppression, ventured also to plunder and persecute this unresisting stranger.

He had no influential friends; he did not know the language; he had no power to resist, and for years the Chinaman tried the virtue of meekness on his enemies.

It is a history, like our treatment of the Indians and the negroes, which should make every American blush—of wrong done to the helpless and borne with meekness; of oppression on the weak which never called forth an act of resistance or word of retort. At length, the aspect of this Christian patience in a Pagan; this meekness, which bore all without a murmur; of this enduring, industrious, respectful stranger, who did his work faithfully, and returned not evil for evil, began to win his way to public respect. * * * The result, both of conscience and of interest, in California, has been a great change of opinion and action toward the Chinese.

* * * The odious tax on the Chinese miner, however, still exists, and he is still excluded from most of the mines. Moreover, to this day, a white scoundrel could enter the cabin of a half-a-dozen honest Chinese with his revolver in pocket, rob them of their toilsome earnings, and murder one or more, and no testimony of theirs could convict him. Such an injustice as this, established by law, is a damning blot on Californian civilization.

The old battle of humanity fought out on our coast, of justice to the negro, is going on here in different form—of justice to the Pagan. The same weapons are used, the same appeals to low and ignorant prejudices of race, and the same assertion of the universal rights of humanity. Caste and ignorance and demagogue sophisms on one side, and enthusiasm and generosity and the principles of justice on the other. * * * * *

We also know how such a contest must end. We know that the spirit of the age and all forces unseen, are moving like a spring tide with the party of justice, and however long delayed, the triumph of equal rights to all must surely come.

The author thinks that if voting could have been regulated by the test of intelligence, it would have simplified the settlement of the Chinese problem, but says the practical middle course now is to make them "equal before the law," with natives or whites, and then seek by every legal and proper means to discourage immigration. He further adds, "But if they cannot be prevented from coming without too odious exactions, then the Christian States on the Pacific coast must accept the burden which Providence has thrown upon them, of this Pagan race, and do their best to elevate them. Thus far the experiment of christianizing the Chinese in California has been anything but a happy one. I am told by friends of the missionaries in China, that the influence of the returned Chinese is uniformly against Christianity. Their reasoning is, that if the doctrines of CHRIST bear such fruit as they have experienced in America, they prefer Confucius or Buddha." Who can wonder that they reason thus, when we remember the test, instinctive in human nature, "By their fruits ye shall know them!"

In the closing chapter our author predicts that the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains will, in the remote future, be embodied in a "new race of the English speaking family, and under a separate and independent popular government." This he claims will be the "New West."

RECEIVED.

WAYSIDE THOUGHTS. By Samuel H. Lloyd. 83 pp. New York: W. J. Middleton.

THE ARK OF ELM ISLAND. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg. 288 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

A STRANDED SHIP. By L. Clarke Davis. 175 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

COLOR. By Madame Marie Elizabeth Cave. 110 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son.

THE Norwich and Worcester line of steamers, advertised in another column, are pleasant and commodious, affording excellent facilities for summer tourists and others journeying to or from the Eastward. Their rooms are nicely furnished and cleanly, and meals are served upon the European plan. The City of Boston and the City of New York leave at 5 P. M.; from pier No. 40, on alternate evenings.

THE TEMPORARY HOME FOR DESTITUTE CHILDREN at 24 Kneeland street, Boston, has now in charge two colored boys, about six years of age,—twins,—both interesting and capable; one remarkably bright and worthy of the best education. They are there waiting to be taken, or adopted by some family. No one who sees them fails to be struck with their noticeable ability. If any reader of this knows of any one wishing to adopt them, please address Mrs. Gaynor, No. 24 Kneeland street, Boston, Massachusetts.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The lady who sent me, last February, certain articles of jewelry to be sold for the benefit of the Women's Rights Cause, is informed that they have been disposed of and the sum of fifteen dollars received for them; which will be used according to her direction.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

COLLECTIONS BY MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.

S. Gardner,	6.00
Peace Dale,	15.00
R. G. Hazard,	50.00
Wilmington, Del.,	15.00
Maggie Walton,	2.00
A Friend,	60.00
Richmond, Va.,	5.00
Total.	$153.00
Miss Wellington,	$2.00

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, 12th and 13th days of June.

This meeting seeks to know no fellowship but the fellowship of Truth, no Church but the Church of Humanity, and invites to its deliberations all who do or would belong to this communion. There are signs of cheer in this time; the opportunities and encouragements for work are greater than ever before known, and it is hoped there will be a large gathering of those interested in this behalf for mutual counsel and co-operation.

The deliberations will dwell especially upon the religious aspects of Truth, its practical bearing upon the relations and forms of human life and activity.

Rev. Samuel J. May, Charles D. B. Mills, William J. Linton, Aaron M. Powell, Dr. Lydia A. Strowbridge, Charles Lenox Remond, Giles B. Stebbins and Geo. W. Taylor are expected to be present and address the meeting.

Communications for the meeting may be directed to Phebe B Dean, Waterloo, N. Y.

Waterloo N. Y., May, 1869.

Advertisements.

WILL BE ISSUED,

June 20th,

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CITY

Miscellaneous Department.

THE ANCIENT CLOCK.

Over the white, bleak, barren land,
Level and golden, has dropt the sun;
Down on the wild shore's icy sand
Boom the long breakers, one by one.

Out from the blue east, fierce and round,
The red moon greatens o'er jostling waves;
And now with impetuous, dreary sound
The voice of the sweeping night-blast raves;

And angrier, louder the billows wake,
Whither its mighty footsteps shocks,
Tossed into surges that momently break
Buffeting on precipitous rocks.

There, in the empty, solemn house,
Sitteth a woman while shadows fall,
Harkening mutely, with bended brows,
To the clock that ticks from the lonesome hall.

A feeble monotone, vague to hear,
While turbulent waters clash below;
Yet every stroke to the listener's ear
Is sweet with the music of long ago!

For the ancient clock from its corner dim
Can deal with time in marvellous ways,
And tick, when the mood so pleases him,
Back through a thousand yesterdays!

And to her who listens at hours like these,
'Tis the same if abroad be tumult or rest—
Thunderous battle of wintry seas,
Or boundless calm on the ocean's breast.

How often (perchance with dreams to weave
How the ancient clocks in our lonesome halls)
The tempest and clamor of life we leave,
When memory's magic whisper calls!

—*Littell's Living Age.*

THE EARTH A MAGNET.

That the sun, the source of light and heat and the great gravitating centre of the solar system, should exercise a magnetic influence upon the earth, and that this influence should vary according to the same law as gravity, or as the distribution of light and heat, will not appear very surprising. But the discovery by Sabine that the *moon* exercises a distinctly traceable effect upon the magnetic needle seems to us a very remarkable one. We receive very little light from the moon, much less (in comparison with the sun's light) than most persons would suppose, and we get no perceptible heat from her. Therefore it would seem rather to the influence of mass and proximity that the magnetic disturbance caused by the moon must be ascribed. But if the moon exercises an influence in this way, why should not the planets? We shall see that there is evidence of some such influence being exerted by these bodies. More mysterious, if possible, than any of the facts we have discussed, is the phenomena of magnetic storms. The needle has been exhibiting for several weeks the most perfect uniformity of oscillation. Day after day, the careful microscopic observation of the needle's progress has revealed a steady swaying to and fro, such as may be seen in the masts of a stately ship at anchor on the scarce-heaving breast of ocean. Suddenly a change is noted; irregular jerking movements are perceptible, totally distinct from the regular periodic oscillations. A magnetic storm is in progress. But where is the centre of disturbance, and what are the limits of the storm? The answer is remarkable. If the jerking movements observed in places spread over very large regions of the earth—and in some well authenticated cases over the whole earth—be compared with the local time, it is found that (allowance being made for difference of longitude) they occur precisely at the same instant. The magnetic vibrations thrill in one movement through the whole frame of our earth! But a very singular circumstance is observed to characterize these magnetic storms. They are nearly always observed to be accompanied by the exhibition of the aurora in high latitudes, northern and southern. Probably they never happen without such display; but numbers of auroras escape our notice. The converse proposition, however, has been established as an universal one. No great display of the aurora ever occurs without a strongly marked magnetic storm. Magnetic storms sometimes last for several hours or even days. Remembering the influence which the sun has been found to exercise upon the magnetic needle, the question will naturally arise, has the sun anything to do with magnetic storms? We have clear evidence that he has. On the first of September, 1859, Messrs. Carrington and Hodgson were observing the sun, one at Oxford and the other at London. Their scrutiny was directed to certain large spots which at that time marked the sun's face. Suddenly a bright light was seen by each observer to break out on the sun's surface and to travel, slowly in appearance, but in reality at the rate of about 7,000 miles in a minute, across a part of the solar disc. Now it was found afterwards that the self registering magnetic instruments at Kew had made at that very instant a very strongly marked jerk. It was learned that at that moment a magnetic storm prevailed at the West Indies, in South America, and in Australia. The signal men in the telegraph stations in Washington and Philadelphia received strong electric shocks; the pen of Bain's telegraph was followed by a flame of fire; and in Norway the telegraph machinery was set on fire. At night great auroras were seen in both hemispheres. It is impossible not to connect these startling magnetic indications with the remarkable appearance observed upon the sun's disc.—*Cornhill Magazine.*

EARTHQUAKES.

Nor does the earthquake give any notice of its coming. Not the most experienced observer, whose life may have been passed in the most favored land of the destroyer, can foretell by signs in the earth, air or heavens when the dread visitation is at hand. Sometimes it comes when the tropic skies are cloudless, when the air is fresh with the scent of summer flowers, and the breeze plays with the orange leaves; sometimes the stars are brightest, and night smiles upon the earth. At others the air is thick and heavy; a dull fog covers the skies, and a sulphurous stench sickens the sense. Sometimes it comes in darkness, and then in the broad daylight. Now in winter, when the air is calm and cool; and now in summer, when all nature melts beneath the torrid heat. At Lima, says a traveler, the inhabitants believed they could foretell an earthquake when the rats ran swiftly over the rafters of the houses, or when the stars twinkled with an ominous brightness. But the next one came in a starless night, and the rats were unusually quiet. The Spanish conquerors imagined that earthquakes happened only once in a hundred years in Peru and Chili, until their terrible frequency proved to them they were miserably deceived. The great convulsion at Lisbon came without a warning, when that city had felt no severe shock for more than a century. Caracas was overwhelmed in an instant, while all its people, without a thought of danger, gay and hopeful, had crowded into their churches to celebrate a high festival of religion. The churches fell and destroyed the multitude of worshippers. Neither science nor observation, not the wise philosopher nor the presuming empiric, has succeeded in laying down any laws by which the dread destroyer consents to be bound.

An earthquake, in its most destructive mood, usually seems to strike the solid ground a heavy blow from beneath. This is by far its most fatal form. Nothing can resist the concussion. The earth itself seems to rise into the air; the strongest buildings start upward, crumble into ruins, and fall in a confused heap upon their occupants; the land slides away from its accustomed place, and whole fields and towns are driven through the air to the tops of hills or to some distant region; men and cattle are shot out as if from a catapult, and fly like missiles over the land until they fall, bruised and bleeding, upon the earth; and, as if resolved to complete the labor of destruction, the fearful concussion is sometimes repeated three or four times, until the whole face of nature is changed into a chaos of ruin. At the great Calabrian earthquake a man was carried, in an instant, together with the field on which he was laboring, to a distant part of the valley; at Riobamba the bodies of the inhabitants were hurled through the air to the top of a neighboring hill. The Calabrian shock was described as resembling the explosion of a subterranean mine, which did its fearful work in an instant; in Chili a witness of one of the severe earthquakes describes it as a sudden explosion, accompanied by a noise like that occasioned by the discharge of countless cannon. So perfect is the change produced on the face of nature that lawsuits have frequently arisen after an earthquake as to the possession of lands and houses that have been wholly removed from their ancient bounds. In the indiscriminite destruction and removal it was impossible for men to determine what was their own.—*Eugene Lawrence, in Harper's Magazine.*

The Will to be Trained not Broken.—Men often speak of breaking the will of a child; but it seems to me they had better break the neck. The will needs regulation, not destroying. I should as soon think of breaking the legs of a horse in training him, as a child's will. I would discipline and develop it into harmonious proportions. I never yet heard of a will in itself too strong, more than of an arm too mighty, or a mind too comprehensive in its grasp, too powerful in its hold.

The instruction of children should be such as to animate, inspire, and train, but not to hew, cut, and carve,; for I would always treat a child as a live tree, which was to be helped to grow, never as dry, dead timber, to be carved into this or that shape, and to have certain mouldings grooved upon it. A live tree, and not dead timber, is every little child.

NEARING IT.

Every minute in the night,
Be it dark and dread,
Is a step toward the light
On the mountain head:
Till our eyelids reach the dawn,
And the fearful night is gone,
As swift as startled fawn
From the hunter's tread.

Every blow struck in the fight
On a foeman's shield
Is a promise for the Right,
That the Wrong shall yield:
And each determined word,
Like some ancient hero's sword,
Returneth to its lord
With his hest fulfill'd.

Every step into the light,
As the dawn-mists fly,
The hours increase in might,
Till the noon rides high:
And as night's black clouds disperse
At the sun-god's burning curse,
So drives Oppression's hearse
From our conquest-cry.

W. J. Linton.

UNCONSCIOUS INFLUENCE.

Two kinds of influence are exerted by man. That which is active and voluntary, by which he endeavors to sway others by argument or persuasion, and that which is unconsciously flowing out from him. The importance of the former is everywhere acknowledged, but the latter is seldom appreciated. It falls on the world unobserved. History is silent on its effects; public laws make no account of its mischiefs or benefits; the discipline of families, societies or schools passes it by unnoticed, and no human power can trace it with sufficient accuracy to make its authors responsible. Because it is thus overlooked, it is not therefore insignificant. Nothing is more silent than the soft and genial light flowing spontaneously in all directions, and filling the world unconsciously with its beams. It would scarcely wake an infant, yet is perpetually recreating the world, and rescuing it from darkness. Its absence would destroy life, and render the globe itself a dreary, useless ball. Is light, then, a tame and feeble instrument, because so noiseless and so gentle? Are the angry earthquake and the noisy thunder superior forces in the natural world? The greatest powers are those which lie behind the commotions of nature, and the outward efforts that we make to sway others secure but a fraction of the good or evil that is done in the world.

Words we may control at will, but looks, tone, motion and conduct, all of which spring from the internal character, compose a great reservoir of influence, which is ever affecting mankind. The child begins his life-experience by simple imitation. He looks and listens, and soon reproduces the petulance or the gentleness, the passion or the tranquility, that he witnesses in those around him. He delights to copy all that he sees and hears, and is every moment receiving impressions which through life cannot be removed. As he grows older the desire for approbation and respect for others takes the place of imitation. Fashion, so powerful as often to become a tyrant, owes all her strength to this unconscious influence. Enthusiasm of any kind kindles and catches from one to another, till sometimes the whole nation blazes in its heat. Fear and superstition, party spirit and speculation will often spread through a circle or a community by the magnetism of unconscious influence, without any direct effort to produce them. The same is true of all the active feelings and impulses of mankind. Even where the direct influence of man seems to be greatest, it is due in a large degree to the insensible influence which accompanies it. The heart, filled with its subject, gives expression to the features, tone to the voice and light to the eye—all involuntarily but powerfully aiding the language and direct efforts. It is thus that hypocrisy so often fails to produce the effect that might be expected. Words may be expected. Words may be used where the heart is absent, but the effect of earnestness is hard to counterfeit.

Every one, however humble, is thus daily and hourly altering and moulding the character of all with whom he mingles, and exerting a power that will reproduce itself through countless generations. The truest method of doing good is thus first of all to *be good;* then the character will necessarily communicate good to others. An influence will always accompany true and right principles, while no effort without them can be successful. The sun could never make our planets shine, were it not itself luminous. A full surrender of the heart to duty and to God will make us partakers of His nature, and we shall as naturally communicate good to others as we receive it from Him.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

The Tools Great Men Work With.—It is not tools that make the workman, but the trained skill and perseverance of the man himself. Indeed it is proverbial that a bad workman never yet had a good tool. Some one asked the artist by what wonderful process he mixed his colors. "I mix them with my brains, sir," was his reply. It is the same with every workman who would excel. Ferguson made a wonderful thing—such as his wooden clock, that accurately measured the hours—by means of a common pen knife, a tool in everybody's hand, but then everybody is not a Ferguson. A pan of water and two thermometers were the tools by which Dr. Black discovered latent heat; a prism, a lens, and a sheet of pasteboard enabled Newton to unfold the composition of light and the origin of color. An eminent foreign *savant* once called upon Dr. Wollaston, and requested to be shown over the laboratories, in which science had been enriched by so many important discoveries, when the Doctor took him into a little studio, and pointing to an old tea-tray on the table, containing a few watch glasses, test papers, a small balance, a blow-pipe, said: "There is all the laboratory I have." Stothard learned the art of combining colors by closely studying butterfly's wings. He would often say that no one knew what he owed to these tiny insects. A burnt stick and a barn door served Wilkie in lieu of pencil and canvas. Berwick first practiced drawing on the cottage walls of his native village, which he covered with his sketches in chalk; and Benjamin West made his first brushes out of the cat's tail. Ferguson laid himself down in the fields at night in a blanket and made a map of the heavenly bodies by means of a thread with small beads on it, stretched between his eyes and the stars. Franklin first robbed the thunder cloud of its lightning by means of a kite made with two cross sticks and a silk handkerchief. Watts made his first model of the condensed steam engine out of an old anatomist's syringe, used to inject the arteries previous to dissection. Gifford worked his first problem in mathematics, when a cobbler's apprentice, upon small scraps of leather, which he beat smooth for the purpose; while Rittenhouse, the astronomer, first calculated the eclipses on his plough handles.—*Workingman's Advocate.*

The Unholy Desire of Dress.—You wish to dress your wife better than your circumstances will allow. She wants to have you. She is a woman of spirit, as it is said, and she does not mean to be a drudge. "Why should our neighbors," she says to her husband, "dress any better than we? They are made of the same flesh and blood that we are. See how they come out. I don't think a man of any spirit would let his wife and children go to church dressed as you let us go. Look at these children. You would think that they had just come out of some slop-house! If I had married as I might have married, we should have had different times—I and my children!" How many men are stung to the quick by such remarks from their wives! Oftentimes their moral sense revolts, at first, and they feel indignation; but "continual dropping wears a stone;" and by-and-by the man is dressed a little better than he can afford, and his wife and children are dressed better than he can afford; and somebody must pay for the extravagance. I do not say that they are tempted to steal; but I do say that they grind. They mean somehow to get it out of the milliner, out of the dress maker, or out of the merchant. They intend to make one hand wash the other somehow, and they go into petty meannesses to bring it about. And this desire to dress better than they can afford is taking off the very enamel of their virtue, and taking out the very stamina of their religious life. Unimportant as it seems, ostentatious vanity in dress has ruined many a family, and damned many a soul!

Henry Ward Beecher.

BEAUTY.

Beautiful faces, they that wear
The light of a pleasant spirit, there
It matters little if dark or fair.

Beautiful hands are they that do
The work of the noble, good, and true,
Busy for them the long day through.

Beautiful feet are they that go
Swiftly to lighten another's woe,
Through summer's heat or the winter's snow.

Beautiful children, if rich or poor,
Who walk the pathways sweet and pure,
That lead to the mansions strong and true.

—*Merry's Museum.*

Follies.—Science has indeed its five follies, but ignorance has had its seventy times seven and more. Huc, a French missionary, who travelled in Tartary some twenty years ago, describes several religious exercises practised by the Buddhists in that country. In one of these the devotee goes round a convent, prostrating himself at every step. He is bound to include all the neighboring buildings in his prostrations; and when these buildings are of great extent, a whole day is hardly sufficient to make the tour with the necessary exercises. For at every step the body must be extended to its whole length, and the forehead must touch the ground, while the arms are stretched out in front and the hands joined. Sometimes the worshipper carries an enormous load of books on his back; and when he has finished his tour, he is considered to have the same merit as if he had recited all the prayers contained in the books he has carried. Others, who find this kind of devotion too fatiguing, walk round the convent whirling a *praying mill* or *turning prayer*, as the natives call it. Often these prayers are fixed in the bed of a running stream, and being kept in motion by the water, go on praying night and day for the benefit of those who placed them there.

Many of the religious notions among Christians of the middle ages were hardly less absurd than this of the praying mills.

There were, at one time, men termed *stylites*, or *pillar saints*, who laid claim to great sanctity. These men stood on the tops of stone pillars for years; and the degree of sanctity was estimated by the height of the pillar and the number of years passed upon it.

One Simeon, a native of Syria, was the first of these Saints. He began on a pillar of nine feet in height; and having passed thirty-seven years on pillars of various heights, died on one of forty cubits. A later saint of the same name passed sixty-eight years in the same manner. Another folly of the middle ages was the curious valuation of stripes. Not only did the monks flog one another, as a means of obtaining the favor of Heaven, but there was a definite value attached to stripes. It had been determined that thirty psalms sung with the accompaniment of one hundred stripes to each psalm,—that is to say, three thousand stripes,—were a set-off for one year of purgatory.

St. Dominic, as a legend relates, ordinarily tasked himself thirty thousand lashes a day with psalms in proportion, which would enable him to redeem thirty-six and a half centuries of purgatory a year.

As none of these good works were lost, what the saint did not need for himself were reserved for the benefit of others.

We are not told how St. Dominic contrived to sing psalms and count the stripes at the same time.—*Oliver Optic's Magazine.*

The Jews of the Middle Ages.—The next important class of our benefactors at this period were the Jews. Despised and rejected of men, driven from city to city and from land to land, shut up in foul quarters of the mediæval towns, plundered by ruthless barons, and racked and tortured by infamous kings, the hapless Israelites, in all their cruel wanderings, never lost their frugal habits, their painful industry, their commercial ardor, their probity, and their hope. They settled in almost every land. They clustered together in the gardens of Syria, the rich cities of Spain, the barbarous lands of Germany and Muscovy, the dangerous realms of Richard or Phillip Augusta. Every country and city was benefited by the presence of these indefatigable laborers Wherever the Jew came he either brought capital or created it. He was the money-lender of Europe before the Florentine and Venetian bankers engrossed that gainful trade. He supplied the means with which merchants made their purchases, nobles supported their lavish establishments, and monarchs waged their destructive wars; and the usurious interest which he exacted for his loans made him hated and envied by the less prudent Christians. Jewish communities grew up in all the European cities, distinguished from their barbarous neighbors by the regularity of their habits, the purity of their morals, their learning and scholarship, no less than their commercial thrift; and when the Semitic Saracens had sunk into indolence and decay, their relatives, the Semitic Hebrews, continued to impart to Saxons and Franks the higher traits of an ancient civilization. While Greek and Roman, Babylonian and Carthaginian died out from the earth, the chosen people still preserved their mental and moral vigor.

Yet the most fatal persecutions met them in every land. They lived amidst scenes of intolerable suffering. To rack and torture a Jew was the favorite employment of mediæval Christians. To treat him with insult and contempt was considered a Christian duty. Yet, in spite of the persecution of their barbarous neighbors, the Jews grew rich and powerful; their patient industry conquered at length in the struggle with feudal cruelty and indolence; their trading-cities on the Rhine and the Moselle became again centres of intelligence and wealth; Jewish bankers, merchants, artisans, manufacturers became the models of those of Italy and Germany; and the example of Semitic learning and intelligence probably aided greatly in awakening the intellect of Europe.—*Eugene Lawrence,* in *Harper's Magazine.*

A Shiftless Man.—In the spring of 1841 I was searching for a studio in which to set up my easel. My "house-hunting" ended at the New York University, where I found what I wanted in one of the turrets of that stately edifice. When I had fixed my choice, the janitor, who accompanied me in my examination of the rooms, threw open a door on the opposite side of the hall and invited me to enter. I found myself in what was evidently an artist's studio, but every object in it bore indubitable signs of unthrift and neglect. The statuettes, busts, and models of various kinds were covered with dust and cobwebs; dusty canvases were faced to the wall, and stumps of brushes and scraps of paper littered the floor. The only signs of industry consisted of a few masterly crayon drawings and little luscious studies of color pinned to the wall.

"You will have an artist for your neighbor," said the janitor, "though he is not here much of late; he seems to be getting rather *shiftless;* he is wasting his time over some silly invention, a machine by which he expects to send messages from one place to another. He is a very good painter, and might do well if he would only stick to his business; but Lord!" he added, with a sneer of supreme contempt, "the idea of telling by a little streak of lightning what a body is saying at the other end of it! His friends think he is crazy on the subject, and are trying to dissuade him from it, but he persists in it until he is almost ruined."

Judge of my astonishment when he informed me that the "shiftless" individual, whose foolish waste of time so excited his commiseration, was none other than the President of the National Academy of Design—the most exalted position, in my youthful artistic fancy, it was possible for mortal to attain—S. F. B. Morse, since much better known as the inventor of electric telegraph. But a little while after this his fame was flashing through the world, and the unbelievers who voted him insane were forced to confess that there was at least "method in his madness."—*Editor's Drawer, Harper's Magazine.*

A Dilemma.—A young parson of the Universalist faith, many years since, when the Simon-pure Universalism was preached, started westward to attend a convention of his brethren in the faith. He took the precaution to carry a phial of cayenne in his pocket, to sprinkle his food with as a preventive of fever and ague. The convention met, and at dinner a tall Hoosier observed the parson as he seasoned his meat, and addressed him thus:

"Stranger, I'll thank you for a leetle of that ere red salt, for I'm kind e' curious to try it." "Certainly," returned the parson, "but you will find it very powerful; be careful how you use it."

The Hoosier took the proffered phial, and feeling himself proof against any quantity of raw whiskey, thought that he could stand the "red salt" with impunity, and accordingly sprinkled a junk of beef rather bountifully with it, and forthwith introduced it into his capacious mouth.

It soon began to take hold. He shut his eyes and his features began to writhe, denoting a very inharmonious condition physically: Finally he could stand it no longer. He opened his mouth and screamed "fire!"

"Take a drink of cold water from the jug," said the parson.

"Will that put it out?" asked the martyr, suiting the action to the word. In a short time the unfortunate man began to recover, and turning to the parson, his eyes yet swimming in water, exclaimed:

"Stranger, you call yourself a 'Varselist, I believe."

"I do," mildly answered the parson.

"Wall, I want to know if you think it consistent with your belief to go about with hell-fire in your breeches pockets?"

Death of a Son-in-Law of Robert Burns.—A Glasgow paper records the death of Mr. John Thomson, the husband of the sole surviving daughter of Burns, at Crossmyloof recently. Mr. Thomson was brought up at the town, but about the beginning of this century was a sergeant in the Stirlingshire militia, and his colonel, by whom he was much respected, often spoke of him as the handsomest man in the regiment. While at Dumfries he met Elizabeth, daughter of Burns, whom he married while she was not quite out of her teens; and on leaving Dumfries he was presented by Jean Armour with many manuscripts and relics of the poet. Thomson was not only a man of great physical strength, but had a vigorous intellect and a great fund of genuine humor, and in his day produced some good verses. For manly independence of character he was such a man as Burns would have been proud of as a son-in-law. Last May his friends celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his marriage with the poet's daughter, with whom he led a very happy life. He leaves, besides his venerable widow, two sons and four daughters, about thirty grandchildren and several great-grandchildren.

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